

FBIS**DAILY REPORT
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WARSAW PACT MILITARY COUNCIL MEETING CONCLUDES

'Timely Questions'

LD310910 Budapest MTI in English 0600 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 Oct (MTI) -- The Military Council of the Warsaw Treaty member states' United Armed Forces held its regular meeting in Hungary between October 27 and 30, 1981. The chair of the meeting was [word indistinct] Marshal Viktor Kulikov, chief commander of the United Armed Forces, and participating in it were the members of the Military Council and delegations of the Bulgarian People's (?Army), the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Hungarian People's Army, the National People's Army of the GDR, the Polish People's Army, the army of the Romanian Socialist Republic and the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. The military [words indistinct] timely questions of the activities of the united armed forces and adopted appropriate recommendations. The meeting of the Military Council went off in a spirit of friendship, close cooperation and mutual understanding.

The delegations which attended the meeting have left Hungary.

Received by Lazar, Kadar

LD301702 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Janos Kadar and Gyorgy Lazar have received the members of the Warsaw Pact Military Council, who held their regular session in Budapest. Those present at the meeting included Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces, as well as Mihaly Korom, member of the party Politburo and Central Committee secretary, and army Gen Lajos Czinege, minister of defense.

Meeting Concludes

LD301610 Prague CTK in English 1500 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 30 Oct (CTK) -- A session of the Military Council of the Warsaw Treaty forces took place in Hungary on October 27-30.

The session was presided by Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Treaty forces, and it was attended by the members of the Military Council and delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia.

The Military Council discussed issues concerning the activity of the Warsaw Treaty Forces.

EIGHTH AWP CONGRESS OPENS IN TIRANA 1 NOVEMBER

Report on Opening

AU011739 Tirana ATA in English 1645 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Tirana, 1 Nov (ATA) -- The 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania opened in Tirana today.

This congress is convened in a very joyful atmosphere that has swept over the entire Albanian people for this important event and the great November 8 celebration, the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania.

Drawing the balance of numerous victories scored during the last 4 decades under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the Albanian working people clearly see also the new horizons the 8th congress of the party will open for still greater victories in the future.

Therefore the mind and heart of our entire people are addressed to the congress during these days. This boundless love and this steel unity of the people round the party was once more expressed today, at the square in front of the hall where the congress will be held, with a manifestation of the working people of the capital, who had gathered there since early in the morning. With songs, dances, enthusiastic cheer and the wish: "Successes to the 8th Congress", they ardently greeted the delegates while they were stepping in the hall of the congress.

The 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania began its proceedings in such an atmosphere.

Standing, the delegates and the guests, greeted with prolonged applause and ovations the appearance in the tribune of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the other party leaders and the heads of the delegations of the sister parties, that have come to attend the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the PLA.

Amidst the great enthusiasm of those present, declaring the congress open, Comrade Ramiz Alia, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of Party of Labour of Albania said among others:

The 8th congress will assume a special place in the history of our party, as the congress of the construction of socialism at rapid rates, relying on our own forces, and on the achievements of science and technique.

Its importance assumes special significance because this congress will set advanced objectives for the development of the economy and culture, and raising the well-being of the people at a time when the world of capital and revisionism continues to suffer from grave economic, political and moral crises, from insecurity about the present and fear about the future.

Our party comes proudly to its 8th congress, because it has honourably carried the tasks which the 7th congress charged it. It comes stronger than ever with the steel unity of its ranks, united like a clenched fist round its Central Committee and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. It comes determined to forge steadily ahead under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia thanked the representatives of the sister parties that have come to attend the proceedings of the congress. Their participation, he said, honours us and we appreciate it as an expression of solidarity and internationalist friendship.

After the election of the leading organs of the congress and the approval of the agenda, amidst the powerful acclamations and prolonged ovations, the floor was taken by Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, who submitted the report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The report was listened to with attention and was punctuated time and again from the prolong applause for the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

List of Leaders Attending

AU011125 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1100 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] The Eighth AWP Congress began its proceedings today at 1000. The delegates greeted with applause and ardent ovations the entry of Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, and Comrades Adil Carcani, Haki Toska, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hasbiu, Manush Myftiu, Mehmet Shehu, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko and Spiro Koleka. The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties from various countries, which have come to take part in the proceedings of the Eighth AWP Congress, also took their places in the Presidium.

The proceedings of this congress were opened by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. He invited the delegates to maintain a 1-minute silence to honor the memory of the party's distinguished leader, Comrade Hysni Kapo, and all other Albanian and foreign revolutionaries who are no longer among us. The presidium and Secretariat of the congress were then elected. After approving the agenda and the regulations governing the proceedings of the congress, Comrade Ramiz Alia, among applause and ardent ovations of the delegates, gave the floor to Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee.

The congress continues its proceedings.

Central Committee Report

AU011331 Tirana ATA in English 1323 GMT 1 Nov 81

["Summary" of "Report on the Activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania" submitted by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, to the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 1 Nov (ATA) --

Dear Comrades,

The party and our entire people come to this congress with great successes and notable victories. Socialist Albania has raised its economic and cultural development to a higher stage, has taken a new step forward in raising the well-being of the masses and strengthening the defence of the homeland.

The five years which have elapsed since the 7th congress were held in a period of heroic struggle by our working masses on all fronts to carry the socialist construction even further forward, to make our new life even richer and more prosperous. Under the leadership of the party and with unshakable confidence in its correct line, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the youth and the intelligentsia unsparingly poured out all their physical and mental energies to cope with and successfully overcome the difficulties of socialist growth, as well as those which the foreign enemies created for us.

Our party comes boldly and proudly to the present congress, as it did to the former congresses, because it has successfully accomplished the great tasks it undertook; because it has fully justified the unshakable trust the people have in it. Our people can be satisfied with their work and efforts. This has been creative and fruitful work which brought them new joy and progress, which made them more optimistic and happier.

During the 6th Five-Year Plan, too, the industrialization of the country went ahead non-stop. The utilization of the value of our mineral wealth and other raw materials of the country reached a higher level with the building of new projects, such as the steel of the party metallurgical combine, the ferro-chrome plant, the pyro-metallurgy plant, the deep oil-processing refinery, etc. A considerable portion of these materials are now formed and processed locally, thus creating a sound and reliable base for the development of the whole economy. This is a success of the correct line of the party as is the ensuring of the powerful energy base which was further expanded with the commissioning of all the turbines of the "Light of the Party" hydropower station.

Our agriculture has made new big strides in all directions. The orientation of the party that it must be transformed into a socialist agriculture of modern large-scale production, relying on an ever more powerful technical base and on the latest agro-technical knowledge, has been proved in practice to be a correct and fully realizable orientation. The increase of agricultural and livestock products from year to year, the ever better fulfilment of the needs of the population and industry for these products, fully confirm this.

Marked progress has been made in the field of culture and education. The socialist content, national physiognomy and popular spirit of our culture have been further developed and deepened. Culture and all its values are being introduced ever more deeply among the masses. A merit of our new culture is that it has withstood the various pressures and influences of bourgeois and revisionist culture, while preserving its originality and socialist features. The peoples education has advanced, fully implementing the instructions of the party to ensure the broad education of the new generation and to give the country specialists at the level which our present and future development requires.

In this grave period of crises which has engulfed the capitalist and revisionist world, where there are many political upheavals, stagnation and decline in production, falling living standards and decadence of moral values, in our country there is complete economic and political stability, our society is sound, our people are confident about the present and the future. During the past five years a large contingent of people educated and trained by the party and our people's state power have begun work for the first time, adding to and further strengthening the great army of working people of town and countryside. This fact becomes even more significant if we bear in mind that in the world today, not only is work not ensured for the younger generation, but even people of the older generation are left unemployed.

Our peoples state power has been further strengthened and democratized. The participation of the masses in governing the country has become more active and been raised to a higher level. Our socialist democracy has been extended further and better conditions have been created to ensure that the people enjoy the rights guaranteed them as fully as possible, and perform their duties to society better.

The internal situation has never been stronger than it is today. The compactness and unity of the people, the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, the collaboration and solidarity among the different strata of our society have been strengthened and consolidated further. The links of the party with the people have been steeled and their mutual confidence has been tempered further.

A brilliant expression of this great unity is that determination, that drive and heroism with which our people fight to carry out the tasks set by the party, to overcome the various difficulties that have emerged in our road, to successfully cope with the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement.

Thanks to the correct line and special care of the party, Socialist Albania today has a reliable and impregnable defence. Our people and the army always maintain high vigilance and stand fearless and ready to defend the freedom and independence of the homeland and the victories of socialism.

Our country is honoured and respected by the progressive and peace-loving peoples and states everywhere in the world. Its international position is strong. Its friends and well-wishers are increasing and multiplying day by day. Its resolute and principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism has enhanced the sympathy and love of the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries, and honest, democratic-minded people for the Party of Labour and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Our party and people successfully withstood the grave test to which they were put by the sudden and brutal breaking off of the economic relations with our country on the part of China. The Chinese revisionists thought that through their hostile activity they would disorganize our economy and stop its development for a long time, that they would force Albania to make political and ideological concessions, to hold out its hand to foreigners and beg for support and aid from abroad. However they, and international reaction after them, which hoped that Albania would be forced to change course, failed completely. With great political maturity and a lofty patriotic spirit, with a fresh mobilization of their energies and unshaken confidence in the triumph of their struggle, our people overcame the difficulties created.

Our party comes to its 8th congress tempered in new battles and richer in experience. It comes as a great army, educated with the proletarian Marxist-Leninist ideology, with strong internal unity and closely linked with the people, with increased organizing, mobilizing and leading capabilities, ever ready to undertake new and greater tasks and to carry them out with success, as always.

Comrades, our socialist economy enters the new five-year period of its development with stability, dynamic and with great possibilities to develop and extend social production further and raise its efficiency in all directions.

The great achievements of historic significance already made in all fields, as well as the rich experience gained in the work and struggle of the party and people for the construction and defence of socialism, constitute a powerful political, economic and social basis from which to advance confidently and boldly.

On the basis of the general line and the economic policy of the party for the construction of socialism, the Central Committee, after all-sided work and study and a broad popular consultation, prepared the draft-directives for the 7th Five-Year Plan of the development of the economy and culture for the period 1981-1985, which it presents to the congress for examination and endorsement. The fundamental task of this five-year plan is: "the general development of the economy, relying completely on our own forces, on the basis of deepening the socialist industrialization of the country, the strengthening and intensification of agriculture, raising the efficiency of the economy, the development of the technical scientific revolution and perfecting the socialist relations of production, in order to guarantee and gradually raise the material well-being and the cultural levels of the masses of the working people and to further strengthen the socialist order and the defence capacity of the homeland".

The main directions and objectives of the development of the economy and culture during the 7th Five-Year Plan, which is distinguished by a number of special characteristics are synthesized in this task.

This is the first five-year plan which will be carried out relying entirely on our own forces and possibilities. Today Albania is the only country in the world which is developing and advancing on the socialist road without any kind of aid or credit from abroad. This is a great but glorious test for our people and party, and the victory is certain, because, by proceeding on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we prepared ourselves long ago for this decisive step.

The objectives and tasks of the new five-year plan are greater than in any other plan, but they are scientifically based and fully achievable. For the five years 1981-1985, the volume of social production and investments will be larger than the volume realized over the first four five-year plans taken together, while the volume of exports will be even larger.

In 1985, as against 1980, social production is envisaged to increase 34-36 per cent, at an average annual rate of 6.4 per cent. The funds for investment and construction will be used to build about 750 important projects for the development of the economy and culture.

With the possibilities created by the increased production and national income, in 1985, as against 1980, the fund for consumption by the people is expected to increase by 21 per cent and the circulation of retail goods by 22-24 per cent. Important tasks are envisaged for the development of education and culture, the health service, housing and other public services.

In setting these targets and rates, account has been taken both of the possibilities the economy has and will provide and of the needs for the development of the economy and the employment of the new active forces, for the strengthening of the defence of the country and the increase of reserves, and for the development of the social and cultural sectors, as well as for ever better fulfilling the growing demands of the population. Many of the targets of this five-year plan, especially those which have to do with the utilization of reserves of oil and minerals, the allocation of investments, etc. have also been seen to in close connection with the development of the economy in the future five-year plans, when we will be faced with even greater needs and demands.

During the 7th Five-Year Plan some important structural improvements will be made in the field of production, the circulation of goods and consumption by the people. These improvements will involve energy resources, black metallurgy, the engineering industry, agriculture, transport, finances and mass consumer goods, etc. The improvements envisaged will lead to intensification of the economy, raise its efficiency and make it more capable of meeting the needs of the country and of coping better with the encirclement and blockade and the pressure of the economic crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world.

The development and strengthening of the material-technical base of the country, as always, will be closely linked with the improvement of various aspects of the economic relations in the city and, especially, in the countryside. Important measures have been and are being taken for the further development of the cooperativist system and the restriction of the personal plot, for the extension of specialization and cooperation, the strengthening of the organization and management of production, for a better linking of the remuneration for work with quantity and quality, savings and the fulfilment of targets of the plan. These measures will be carried still further with the aim of ceaselessly strengthening our socialist order.

In the 7th Five-Year Plan our industry will advance still further and develop on a broad front. About 46 per cent of all the investments of the five-year plan will be made in this branch. The aim of the policy of the party for the development of industry is: to consolidate the multi-branched structure of industry, giving priority, as always, to heavy industry; to maintain and further improve the positive balance of energy resources, attaching particular importance to the oil industry; to further develop the mineral extracting and processing industry, while also starting to utilize new minerals, to make tangible improvements in the structure of means of production and consumer goods; to put industry even more in the service of the intensification of agriculture; to expand the existing productive capacities through their reconstruction and modernization.

Consistently following its agrarian policy, the party has set new, more important objectives for the development of agriculture and the progress of our socialist countryside during the 7th Five-Year Plan. The tasks which the Central Committee of the party has set for the sector of agriculture in the new five-year plan are aimed: to increase production in order to ensure ever better supplies of all the food for the people and improve its structure; to substantially increase the raw materials for the light and food-processing industry; to gradually eliminate imports of that part of foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials which are still brought from abroad; to increase the volume of exports of processed and unprocessed agricultural products; to increase and strengthen the necessary reserves.

On the basis of these objectives, as well as through other economic and social measures, the well-being of the peasantry will be raised and the distinctions between town and countryside will be further reduced.

These major problems for the development of agriculture have to do with the present and the future of the country. For all these reasons, in this five-year plan agriculture will occupy a special and more important place than hitherto.

In the context of the work that will be carried out in agriculture during this five-year plan, the Central Committee of the party proposes to the congress that a series of important measures for the intensification of agricultural production, giving priority to production in the more fertile plains of the country, should be applied within a ten-year period. The first stage of this program, to be applied in the 7th Five-Year Plan, covers more than 100,000 hectares of land in the area of the coastal plains. The aim of this action is to increase agricultural and livestock production in the areas in which the work and investments yield greater and more rapid results. This will also create favorable conditions for a more rapid development of the cooperatives and for the gradual transition from the property of the group to the property of the whole people. Undertaking this action will not affect the investments and material resources necessary for the development of agriculture in the other areas of the country. On the contrary, work will continue for the further development and strengthening of all agricultural cooperatives.

The productive potential we have built up and the growing resources of our internal accumulation enable us to undertake a program of investments and construction work of unprecedented proportions in the new five-year plan, with a total volume of more than 25 billion leks, or 22-24 per cent more than in the previous five-year plan. This is a very significant expression of the superiority and vitality of our socio-economic order, of the creative abilities and inexhaustible energies of the broad working masses and of the correctness of the principle of self-reliance.

In allocating investments, deciding their structure and the concrete projects, the future development of the various branches of the economy and culture, the strengthening of the independence and defence of the homeland and the need to guarantee and gradually raise the well-being of the people, have been taken into account.

In the development of our economy we have always followed the course of ceaselessly strengthening our political and economic independence, but we have never aimed and do not aim at an autarchic development, while we have always struggled against any pressure to integrate our economy into the economy of capitalist and revisionist countries.

By applying this correct Marxist-Leninist course, and increasing the volume of exports perceptibly, even though we encountered serious obstacles and difficulties, in the last years of the past-five-year period our economy managed for the first time to balance all the necessary imports with exports. This balance was achieved without detriment to the rates of the development of the economy, or the standard of living of the people. This is another historic victory of our party and people on the road of the complete construction of socialist society, a clear expression of the economic strength of our country.

In 1985 exports of goods are forecast to be 58-60 per cent greater than in 1980, while imports will go up 56-58 per cent. Thus, the active balance of foreign trade will be further strengthened and the fulfillment of the targets of the five-year plan as a whole will be more firmly guaranteed.

In the development of production and all other social activities the party has always had the working man, the fulfillment of his material and cultural needs, in the centre of its attention.

With the development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy during the 7th Five-Year Plan, the material well-being and the cultural level of the people will be guaranteed and raised.

Despite the huge program of investments and expenditure for the development of the economy and the increase in the norm of accumulation from about 30 percent in the 6th Five-Year Plan to 31-33 percent in the 7th Five-Year Plan, the real income per capita of the population will go up 8-10 per cent. The rate of increase in real income in the countryside will be more than double that in the town. The production of mass consumer goods will increase 33-35 per cent and services for the people 45-47 per cent. There will be increased supplies of meat, fish eggs, vegetables, potatoes and fruit. Improvements are envisaged in the structure of mass consumer products and the supply of durable household goods, in order to make living conditions easier and to ensure a more cultured family life.

Management and organization are one of the most important links which we must grasp firmly to ensure progress everywhere, in the economy, education, science, culture, in all the fields of social activity.

In the existing conditions, when our economy has become a large-scale complex economy, it cannot be managed and progress with outdated concepts and practices. Today empiricism and narrow practicism cannot do the job. Management and organization must be based on profound knowledge and learning, on sound scientific principles and criteria which stem from the laws of our economic and social development.

Our economy has always proceeded on a correct Marxist-Leninist course. Its stability, vitality and dynamism are clear and concrete proof of this. These fundamental features of our socialist economy will be consolidated and carried still further forward through the struggle and efforts of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, under the leadership of the party, to put into practice the objectives of the 7th Five-Year Plan which we are endorsing at this congress.

Our Party of Labour, unwaveringly loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a determined fighter against external and internal enemies and with its roots deep in the people who gave birth to it and raised it, has led the Albanian people with wisdom and foresight from victory to victory, at each stage of the revolution and the socialist construction of the country.

The party has also accomplished with honour the great, difficult and complex tasks set by its 7th congress. The struggle and work for the accomplishment of these tasks has further strengthened and steeled the party, enhanced its leading role and fighting spirit, revolutionized the life and activity of the basic organizations, the forums and the members of the party and tempered the steel unity of its ranks and its close links with the broad masses of the people.

The experience of our party over 4 years proves that only a party, which is based firmly on the Marxist-Leninist science can become the true leader of the working class, can achieve its hegemony and ensure the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialist society.

The party realizes its leading role everywhere and on every question through the basic organizations and the party members. The better the ideology and political line of the party in general, and each of its decisions and directives in particular, are grasped and applied by every organization and member, the stronger the party and its links with the masses become, and the more its leading role is enhanced in all the links of the socialist construction. This is a decisive condition for the fulfillment of the great tasks which face us at the present stage of the development of the country and in the concrete conditions under which we are building socialism. With the party strong as steel, vigilant and fearless in the lead, the cause of the revolution and socialism is invincible.

Our party has always had a correct concept of its role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has played this role correctly. Therefore, it is very important to establish thorough understanding and ever better application in practice of the fact that the work of the party is not the work of the party organs and basic organizations only, and even less, of their apparatuses.

The state and economic organs, the commands and staffs of the army, the mass organizations, all the cadres and working people, whether party members or not, also carry out the work of the party, because they are all guided by the ideology and line of the party and carry out the laws and regulations of the state and its plans in which this line is embodied.

The work of the party is effective when the party organizations and all the party members develop the ability to act on their own initiative, develop the creative and innovative spirit widely. In this direction there are many examples and positive experience everywhere. Life progresses, our socialist society is developing ceaselessly, the conditions change. This development requires us to be creative and inventive, to find new, more flexible and varied forms of work, and to continually renew and enrich them so that they respond better to the requirements of the time.

Our party has always applied correct criteria for the increase of its ranks, with determination and in a revolutionary way. This has made the party stronger and healthier and increased the effectiveness of its work.

The party comes to this congress with its ranks increased with communists who are resolute fighters for the cause of the people, the revolution and communism, proletarians in thought and action. Now 122,600 communists, of whom nearly 38 per cent are workers, 29.4 per cent cooperativists and 32.6 per cent office workers, are militating in the ranks of the party. Women make up 30 per cent of the total, or 2.5 per cent more than at the previous congress. Members of the party make up 4.5 per cent of the population. 24,363 candidates for membership, 42.40 per cent of them workers, 40.43 per cent cooperativists and 17.17 per cent office workers, have been admitted to the party in the years following the 7th congress. Of these, 40.70 per cent are women comrades.

The overwhelming majority of those admitted to the party, either as full members or candidates, come from the sphere of production, especially from its main fronts. They are among the best workers, the most developed politically and ideologically, those with lofty moral qualities and virtues and a high educational level, vanguard fighters and active participants in the construction of socialism.

Following the 7th congress, with the adoption of the new Constitution and the other codes and laws which stem from it, the management, organization and activity of the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party itself, the state, the Armed Forces, the mass organisations, etc, have been further strengthened.

It is known that the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat includes a whole system of organs and organisms with various functions, competences and responsibilities, built on the basis of democratic centralism and which function under the leadership of the party. The problem presents itself that this entire system has to be strengthened continuously and operate in a synchronized way, with each part of the system performing its own functions with precision, so that all of them in unison realize the objective and program of the party.

In the period between the two congresses, the Central Committee of the party and the Defence Council have taken important measures to further strengthen the defence capacity of the homeland. The party and the state, the military cadres, both active and reserve, have carried out great work in the army and fought successfully to eliminate the consequences of the hostile activity of Beqir Balluku and company. As a result of this, the organization, training, education and fighting readiness of our Armed Forces have been raised to a higher level.

The party has never based the defence of the homeland on external aid or the various international factors, but has relied mainly on the internal factor, on the strength, patriotism and bravery of our own people, as well as on the all-round preparation and permanent fighting readiness of the whole country for defence.

The defence of the homeland is strengthened and becomes impregnable when the tasks in the political, ideological, economic and military fields are understood and carried out closely and inseparably linked with one another.

Such an understanding and performance of the tasks will further consolidate our internal front in all directions, will make it even more capable of coping successfully with any situation, a steel wall against which any aggressor who dares to raise a hand against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, will break its head.

The all-round education of the new man has been and remains a fundamental question in the activity of the party in order to carry the construction of socialist society consistently forward. This education has been carried out on a broad front, closely linked with the tasks of each stage of development, with the problems which life has raised, and the concrete situations. This has always ensured the active character, the great mobilizing and transforming force of the educational work of the party and its levers.

The conditions in which we are working and fighting for the construction and defence of socialism, as well as the tasks which we are putting forward in this congress for the socio-economic development of the country, require that the educational work of the party be raised to a higher level and concentrated better on certain current and future main problems. In order to create deep Marxist-Leninist convictions among the people, to raise their professional skills, to equip them with broad culture and pure moral virtue.

Our party has always done a great deal of work for the Marxist-Leninist education of the Communists and the masses.

The task now is that all this work should be done at a higher, more qualified level, with the aim that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our party should be mastered as well and as thoroughly as possible. The main thing is that our people should be properly armed ideologically with the Marxist world outlook and methodology, should be properly formed from the theoretical viewpoint, so that they stand and act consciously, at all times and in any circumstances as consistent revolutionaries, as determined fighters for the cause of socialism and communism, and not be taught only some Marxist theses and conclusion.

Our party and people have to advance continuously, to solve new problems. The theoretical working out and the practical solution of these problems require that creative thinking should be developed continuously, relying on the basic Marxist principles and methodology, as well as on the summing up of the experience gained.

In our country a true revolution has taken place in the cultural and professional level of the working masses. Nevertheless, the raising of the educational, cultural and technical-vocational level of the working people, as an inseparable part of the communist education, remains one of the important directions of the activity of the party and the state.

The intensive development of the economy and culture, the ever more extensive introduction of advanced equipment and technology, the targets set for higher productivity and quality, greater profitability and efficiency of production, the prospects of the whole development of the country in the future, demand the further raising of the educational and cultural level, the mastering of science and technology by our people.

The main centre for the assimilation of culture, knowledge and science is our new school. The great action for the further revolutionization of our socialist school, which has been going on during the recent 15 years, is being carried out with success.

Great successes have been achieved in assuring mass participation in all parts of our school system. In general, the overwhelming majority of the urgent needs for the quantitative development of education can be considered solved, or well on the way to their final solution. We now have an education system capable of coping with the present and future requirements in all fields.

Now the time has come for all the forces of our education and teaching front to concentrate more seriously and in a more qualified way on raising the quality of the work of the school, without neglecting constant care to further increase the mass participation in education in general, and especially in certain of its links.

Our country has been transformed into a great school in which everybody learns and works, beautifies the homeland and makes it prosper. This has brought the people into an ever more active relationship with culture. Our people take part actively in the creation of the values of material and spiritual culture and in their continuous use. Herein lies one of the superiorities of our socialist system over the capitalist system.

Our socialist life gives our culture, literature and arts more vigour, more dynamism and freshness, enriching them in content and form. The connection with active life is the only means, the only way to disclose and affirm the lofty moral and political virtues and qualities, the successes and creative activity of people who work. Only in this way are the cultural values turned into a source to inspire and mobilize the masses to carry out the tasks in the fields of the construction and defence of the country, creating an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm to overcome difficulties and achieve new victories.

An important task of all our creative artists in literature, cinematography, figurative arts, music, etc. is to take up the major problems of our days, the processes of the development and the new phenomena of our life and reflect them extensively in their works.

The development and progress of culture means the development and progress of the nation. There is a close dialectical interconnection between them. Engels has said that history shows that every new step forward on the road of culture has been a step towards freedom. It is important that this is understood profoundly by the organs of the party and the state power at the base and by all the working people of the front of culture. The greater their understanding of the importance of cultural work, the more they will link themselves with the problems of this activity.

Our new science also has made a special contribution to the great successes which our people have achieved in the socialist construction of the country.

But the stage reached in the development of the country and the great tasks which we have ahead of us make the development of science, its proper evaluation and the application of its achievements in production an urgent need. This need becomes even more imperative in the present conditions of the development of our country with our own forces alone, when the economy and all sectors of social activity have set out on the course of intensification and when work of high quality, productivity and efficiency is required everywhere.

The main objective of all the scientific study work is to give the 7th Five-Year Plan the necessary support to ensure its complete fulfilment. Along with this, an important task and objective of our science is to begin immediately to carry out studies in regard to the next five-year plan. To be science, to really play its role and perform its function, science must precede production, must indicate in advance the future course of the development of economy and culture. Only on this basis can it aid both planning and production.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always followed the development of international situations and the events which occur in the world with attention. It has analysed them in an objective and realistic manner, based, as always, on the Marxist-Leninist principles, and has drawn the respective conclusions. In all this work the party has proceeded from the fact that the processes going on in the world today exert their influence, to this or that extent, on our country, too. We follow and analyse the international situations with particular interest, so that we are never taken by surprise, to ensure that we are always prepared to face up successfully to any danger which might come from abroad, and to build socialism with success. On the other hand, this also constitutes a condition for us to properly and effectively perform our internationalist duty in support of the people's struggle for freedom and national independence, democracy and social progress, and to contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.

Viewed as a whole, the present international situation is disturbed, complicated and very tense.

Major political and social forces confront one another: on the one side, imperialism, capitalism and reaction, the bearers of oppression, exploitation and war, and on the other side, the peoples, the revolutionaries and the democrats, who are struggling for national and social liberation and the emancipation of mankind. This large-scale, profound and all-round confrontation, which is a reflection of stern class clashes and has included all the continents without exception, has further exacerbated all the contradictions and the grave crisis which has swept the capitalist world today. Everything indicates that the present situation in the world could give rise to general and local wars, just as it may give rise to liberation wars and revolution. The development of events will show whether imperialism will be able to lead the world to a new catastrophe or whether the peoples will prevent the war and save mankind.

The imperialist-revisionist policy of war, oppression and exploitation has run into the great resistance of the proletariat and the peoples of the world. The peoples understand the intrigues, manoeuvres, strategy and tactics of the savage superpowers - the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union, and are not sitting idle.

The world today is witness to the fact that the struggle of the working class and the peoples, oppressed and exploited by world capital and imperialism, has assumed wide proportions and a variety of forms never seen before. The working class and all the exploited, in one way or another, with greater or lesser intensity, are fighting against all the capitalist ruling forces, whether local or international, which exploit them, impoverish them and oppress them economically and morally.

The struggle of the peoples, the struggle of the proletariat against their enemies will surge ahead. It is an objective historical process which no force can stop.

The complex and difficult situations which have been and are being created in the world face our party and our socialist state with the duty of maintaining the revolutionary vigilance always at a high level, and taking measures for the all-round strengthening of the economy and defence, and the unity and political consciousness of the people. These situations, likewise, demand that our foreign policy should be active, should ever better serve the defence of the interests of the homeland and the victories of socialism, the advance of the cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and peace in the world, and the support of all those processes which assist the emancipation and progress of present-day human society.

Our foreign policy, as the policy of a socialist state, of a truly free society without exploiting classes, is a revolutionary and internationalist policy. It is free from the slightest sign of narrow bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusiveness, or of underration of other peoples. The Albanian people have respect for every people and wish all peoples well.

The policy of our party and our socialist state has been and always will be for the continuous strengthening of sincere relations of friendship and collaboration with all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples, with all those who fight against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of imperialists. It is for the development of sincere collaboration with all those countries which wish it well and maintain a correct attitude towards it.

Our party and country are opposed to all those imperialist and neo-colonialist practices of inequality, discrimination and great-state dictate in international relations. We believe that the relations between states, whether big or small, should be free from any kind of economic, political or military pressure and dictate, and should serve their economic, cultural and social development, the strengthening of friendship between sovereign peoples and states, and the interests of the maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world.

The word and deed of Albania are listened to and welcomed with respect by the peoples and workers of different countries, because they are in conformity with their own interests and aspirations.

That is why the peoples and progressive opinion throughout the world prize and approve this policy, why the countries and states with different social systems follow it with interest and admire it, while reaction and the Soviet, Yugoslav and other modern revisionists, attack it.

As is natural and understandable, our party and government have devoted special care to relations with neighbouring countries and, in a wider framework, with the European countries. Our stands towards them are known and they do not alter. At all times and in every situation, the aim of the foreign policy of Albania has been to contribute as much as possible to the strengthening of peace and international security on our continent and to the strengthening of collaboration amongst its peoples. We have said and still say that the participation of the majority of the countries of Europe in the military and the political blocs of the superpowers is the cause of its misfortune. This is where the divisions and splits in Europe, the frequent tensions and confrontations between different countries of this continent, have their source.

The problems of the Balkans are the same as those which are worrying Europe as a whole, but here, because of the strategic position which this peninsula occupies and the old feuds, the conflicts are more acute and the dangers greater.

The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that the superpowers, proceeding from their hegemonic interests and their desire to transform the Balkans "permanently into a powder keg", are trying to arouse chauvinist passions and sentiments, to set the Balkan peoples and countries against one another, to prevent the relations between them from developing normally and in a positive direction, and to undermine the strengthening of friendship between neighbouring peoples.

The dangers in the Balkans are increased especially due to the participation of some countries of this region in the military and economic blocs of the superpowers, the existence of foreign military bases, and permitting the American and Soviet fleets to enter their territorial waters and stay in their ports, etc.

Such developments create tensions and are fraught with dangers for the Balkan peoples. In every direction and aspect they are in opposition to the sincere efforts and desires of the peoples of the Balkans for the establishment of trust, understanding and genuine collaboration between the countries of our peninsula.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the view that at present the genuine aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans, peace and stability in this zone, can be served best by not allowing the imperialist superpowers to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive steps for the positive development of relations on the basis of the good neighbour policy. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the Balkan countries undertake officially not to allow the superpowers to threaten or endanger other neighbouring countries from their territories. In the future, just as in the past, Socialist Albania will consistently adhere to this policy and will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with the neighbouring states.

Albania has been guided by those principles and these aims in its relations with Yugoslavia. Too its desire is that the state relations in different fields between the two countries should develop normally. However, this will depend on the stand of Yugoslavia towards Socialist Albania and on its treatment of the Albanians of Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia.

The problem of the Albanians who live on their own territories in Yugoslavia is not a problem of a "minority" which has immigrated to or settled somewhere in an "empty" zone as an economic immigration, is not a result of the onslaught of the Ottoman Empire, nor of the natural demographic increase of Albanians, which is worrying the Great-Serb neo-Malthusians. The Albanians in Yugoslavia constitute an ethnos, a people formed centuries ago, who have their own history, language and culture, an autochthonous people who, as is known, were cut up and were separated from their motherland by the imperialist great powers and annexed to Yugoslavia. This nobody can conceal. Any other interpretation is arbitrary, a flagrant and harmful falsification of history.

The Albanian people did not allow the Fascist occupiers or anyone else to determine the motherland of the Albanian ethnos. The Albanians have fought unceasingly for centuries against many savage enemies, much greater in numbers, in order to defend their national identity and their very existence. In all these wars, both in defeat and in victory, in the long years of enslavement, throughout their history, the Albanian people have never lost their national identity and national consciousness, their compactness and unity. In all circumstances they have manifested these things with an extraordinary and exemplary vitality.

The empires and the great powers were quite unable to wipe out the compact ethnics of Albanians, nor were they able to assimilate them or to alter their culture, language, habits and customs. The very existence of the Albanian people proves this. History shows that without any support from foreign powers, which have always been opposed to them, the Albanian people have fought successfully for the freedom and compactness of their nation, to defend their independence as a sovereign state, their culture and their own natural legitimate rights. At all times they have achieved victory only by fighting and shedding their blood for it.

During the Second World War, the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia fought together and as close comrades-in-arms against the Italian and the German Fascist invaders. The Albanians who live in Yugoslavia also fought heroically together with us and all the peoples of Yugoslavia against the same enemies. Not only did they fight together, but our national liberation army went to the aid of the Yugoslav partisans and the Kosovo brothers, and the blood of the sons and daughters of the Albanian people was shed on their land. He acted as the Communist Party of Albania taught us, with a high level of consciousness and internationalist spirit. We thought that the peoples of our two countries would win freedom in this way, that enslavement would be eliminated and the tragic mistakes of past history would be corrected. We believed that after the victory everything would be settled in the Marxist-Leninist way. Our communist parties, which led the national liberation war in the two countries, were a guarantee for this. However, our belief in the "communism and internationalism" of the Yugoslav leaders, our trust in their words, proved to be unjustified. In fact, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia never took a proper Marxist-Leninist view of the question of the future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Therefore this question was bound to be settled, as it was settled, in a wrong and distorted fashion, in an utterly anti-Marxist, nationalist and chauvinist way.

The wrong solution of this great issue of principle began at the 2nd meeting of the anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia, held at Jajce, in November 1943, where the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia were used as a means to adjust the proportions of the territories and populations of the republics of the federation, and more precisely of Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was decided a priori from above, without the approval and self-determination of the Albanian people of Kosovo and the other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia, and without the slightest consultation with the ally of the peoples of Yugoslavia directly interested in this question—People's Albania. Contrary to the "policy of national equality" proclaimed at the 2nd meeting of the Avnoj, the leadership of the communist party of Yugoslavia unjustly violated the will of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, expressed at the meeting of the 1st founding conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosovo and Metohia, held at Bujan from December 31, 1943 to January 2, 1944, which was completely in conformity with the right of "self-determination up to secession" of the peoples who constituted Yugoslavia, and which had been defined in the fundamental documents of the communist party and the National Liberation Movement of Yugoslavia.

In regard to consultation with People's Albania on the settlement of this historical problem, the Yugoslav leadership a priori considered it unnecessary. It was against such consultation, because it knew that a principled Marxist-Leninist friendly discussion between the leaderships of our two countries, taking also into account the free will of the Albanians living on their own land in Yugoslavia, would lead to a just solution and not to an arbitrary chauvinist and nationalist solution, such as that which the Yugoslav leadership undertook.

After the war, in 1946, a delegation from our country, which I headed, paid the first official visit to Yugoslavia. In the talks which were held with Tito on this occasion, he wanted to know what I thought about the solution of the question of Kosovo and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. I expressed the opinion of the Albanian side that Kosovo and the other regions inhabited by the Albanians belonged to Albania and should be returned to it. The Albanians fought to have a free and sovereign Albania, with which the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia should now be united. President Tito replied: "I agree with your view, but we cannot do this for the time being, because the Serbs would not understand us." This official promise of Tito's on this great issue of principle was not accompanied with any further action on the part of the Yugoslavs. The whole thing was a fraud on their part.

The fundamental error of a nationalist and chauvinist character of the Yugoslav leadership, which was followed by other equally grave errors in connection with the legitimate and natural rights of Albanians who are now accused by the great-Serbs of being "chauvinist", "nationalist" and "irredentist", lies in the wrong solution at Jajce, in the dividing up of the free will of the Albanians. The recent events in Kosovo and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia have their source in this very wrong and anti-Leninist solution of the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially in regard to the Albanian entity of about 2 million inhabitants, nearly as many as the total population of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Right from the start, Serbian, Montenegrin and Macedonian chauvinism followed a savage nationalist policy of oppression and discrimination against Albanians in all directions, in education, culture, the economy, etc.

Even in the period when there were good relations between our country and Yugoslavia and between the two parties, the problem of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was a "ball and chain" on the legs of the Yugoslavs. They did not examine the Albanians' demands and causes of complaint, did not settle them politically through understanding, but settled them with violence, with savage administrative measures.

The Albanians were accused of nationalism and this was done to cover up the Serbian chauvinism and nationalism. Nothing can cover up or justify the bloody reprisals against the Albanians of Yugoslavia in 1945, 1968 and again in 1981, the discrimination imposed upon them, leaving them in poverty, the national oppression, the denial of their rights and great discrimination in the field of education and culture. The falling into disgrace of the great-Serb group of Rankovic in 1966, and later that of the other great-Serb group of Nikesic marks the period of the Titoites' political demagoguery towards Kosovo and the Kosovars. The need to balance the various forces within the federation led to a certain formal revision of the status of Kosovo which, from a simple region of Serbia, was called an "autonomous" region of Serbia.

Whether the Serbs liked it or not, this new situation gave the Albanians in Yugoslavia, and especially the Kosovars, possibilities to extend their schooling, to set up the university of Pristina, to develop their culture, to learn the history of their people, to establish contacts and educational-cultural and economic relations with Albania, on the basis of the laws of the federation [words indistinct] elements between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the SFRY. However, the economic base of the autonomous socialist region of Kosovo still remained too weak and was neglected. Its assets were still unscrupulously exploited by the other republics of the federation, especially by Serbia. All the "solutions", which were presented with great clamour to Belgrade and Skopje. According to the occasion, without saying so openly, they were considered either as "opportunistic concessions of Tito's", as occurred among the Serbs, or as "victories achieved thanks to Tito", as they were loudly proclaimed by some Albanian leaders of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosovo. Meanwhile the masses of Albanians did not nurse many illusions, because what was given them was very little compared with the major rights which they had been denied and robbed of.

The events which have occurred since the death of Tito have shown how wrongly and on what an anti-Marxist course the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially the question of the Albanians, had been settled.

A heavy and bloody blow was dealt to their lawful demands, recognized in the constitution, by the Serbian chauvinist leadership and the whole Yugoslav leadership after the demonstrations which were held in Kosovo in March and April this year. Now, apart from the deplorable economic situation, savage national oppression is being imposed on the Kosovars and all the other Albanians in Yugoslavia more than at any other time. A reign of terror has been established over them, the Serbian police and army have been poured in and the jails are packed with young men and women. The measures which are continually being taken are directed not only towards the elimination of any legitimate rights and those few gains which appeared in the development of education and culture, but also towards the denationalization of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. And this is being done by those who claim that they respect the documents of the Helsinki Conference about freedoms and human rights. World opinion must not remain indifferent, but ought to be alarmed about this tragic situation of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

After all, what did the Albanians demand in the mass demonstrations which were held in various towns and villages of Kosovo?

The Albanians in Yugoslavia have demanded more than once, through peaceful demonstrations and without demonstrations, that their constitutional, economic and socio-cultural situation should be corrected and put on the right road within the laws of the federation. They demanded the status of a republic within the SFRY. They did not demand either secession from the federation or unification with Albania. However, the just and lawful demands of the students, workers, peasants and intellectuals of Kosovo went unheeded. Moreover, as at other times when they had presented such lawful and just demands, they were described as nationalist, were persecuted and bloodily suppressed.

Can these problems be solved in this way in our times? Never. It is impossible to keep a people, whose territory contains great wealth and is plundered by others, in poverty and want. It is impossible to keep a valiant people, like the Albanians, under the threat of tanks and bayonets. It is impossible to distort or eliminate their history and ancient culture. It is impossible to wipe out their patriotic sentiments and love for their homeland.

If the present Yugoslav leadership proceeds on the course it has chosen and is pursuing, the opposition of the Albanians will continue, will grow and become even more acute. Only a solution of the national question, which is well considered by the two sides without passion, a solution which is accepted and approved by the people of Kosovo, can eliminate this very complicated situation which has been created not by the people of Kosovo, but by great-Serb chauvinism. The people of Kosovo proposed the fairest and most suitable solution in this situation, which is difficult for Yugoslavia and for themselves. The demand to raise Kosovo to the status of a republic within the federation is a just demand. It does not threaten the existence of the federation. Instead of being reasonable, the Serbian and Yugoslav chiefs sent in the tanks, shed the people's blood and now they are going ahead on a wide scale with their famous differentiation, that is, police investigations: Who was for and who was against demonstrations. To act in this way, first with terror and then allegedly with "differentiation", means to try to intimidate the masses who cannot be intimidated, to eliminate their patriotism which cannot be eliminated, to have the illusion that you have calmed the situation when you have aroused indignation and anger, to think that you have brought "trustworthy people" into the state power which you have purged of "nationalists", etc., when you have only impelled the whole people to silent resistance, who tomorrow will raise their voices with greater force against the atrocities which are being committed. The Yugoslav leaders do not want to understand this situation.

Because we state these truths openly and demand that the problem of Kosovo and all the Albanians in Yugoslavia, which has been settled wrongly, should be re-studied with cool heads, avoiding the use of violence and terror, because we demand an end to the persecutions and the release from jail of the boys and girls of Kosovo, they accuse the People's Socialist Republic of Albania of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and even of inciting the disturbances in Kosovo and elsewhere.

And how is it allegedly inciting these disturbances? By means of official educational and cultural relations. They even go so far as to claim that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is making common cause with Albanian political reaction in exile, which we have always fought with all our strength.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The [words indistinct] interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The opposite has occurred. The Yugoslav revisionists plotted to bring about the liquidation of the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania and the incorporation of Albania into the Yugoslav Federation as its 7th republic, aiming in this way, through an annexationist and imperialist course, to resolve the problem of the whole Albanian nation once and for all. However, these plots did not succeed and they will never succeed. Albania is not and never will become a means of regulation to calm the conflicts and contradictions between the Yugoslav clans. It belongs to its people, a people full of vitality, valiant and patriotic, who fear none.

Albania has never made territorial claims against Yugoslavia, and no demand for border readjustments can be found in its documents. While maintaining this stand, however, we have not denied and never will deny the fact that a good part of the Albanian nation and people lives in Yugoslavia. We have defended the legitimate rights of our Albanian brothers across the border and we shall continue to defend them in the future with all our might and in a Marxist-Leninist way, and this is not interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is our undeniable right.

The question of Kosovo is a tragedy. The Yugoslav authorities must cease their terror and persecution of the Albanians, eliminate the national oppression, and recognize all the rights due to them. To solve the problems justly, they must talk calmly, without heat and on terms of equality with the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

The principled foreign policy followed by our party and country expresses the aspirations of the Albanian people and enjoys their complete and boundless support and backing. In the future, too, our party will struggle for the consistent and resolute implementation of this policy, which ensures the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of our people.

In the period since the 7th congress, our party, standing loyal as ever to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has continued the struggle against modern revisionism uninterruptedly. The ideological and political criticism against Khrushchevite, Chinese, Yugoslav and West European revisionism has been made more profound. The historical and socio-economic conditions of the birth and spread of these trends have been brought out more clearly, and the process of degeneration of those communist parties which took the course of revisionism, their mistakes and concessions in strategy and tactics, have been analysed more extensively. The connection of modern revisionism with the strategy which imperialism adopted after the Second World War for the destruction of socialism and the suppression of the revolution and the people's liberation movement, has been proved in the light of facts from the past and the present.

These analyses and conclusions have helped the party to recognize more clearly the dangers which threaten socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country from revisionism and to take more effective and appropriate measures to avert these dangers. They have also helped in the education of the communists and the masses, the enhancement of their theoretical level and the tempering of their revolutionary consciousness. The more profound knowledge of the strategy and tactics of imperialism and revisionism have made our struggle in defence of the cause of the proletariat and the peoples even more effective.

The correctness of the course which our party chose right from the start to oppose revisionism and fight it to the end has been and is being proved more and more each day by the political degeneration and the profound ideological crisis of modern revisionism, by the grave economic situation and the impasse in which the revisionist parties and the countries where they are in power have landed.

When our party began the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, the communist parties which made common cause with Khrushchev looked, more or less, like a united bloc, with a single line, which was that of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Today, however, 20 years later, they are split and divided into many trends, and factions, are fighting and clashing with one another and have been overwhelmed by bourgeois nationalism and social-democratic opportunism. These former communist parties have been transformed either into genuine parties of the new bourgeoisie ruling in the countries where the revisionists are in power, or into component parts of the structures of the bourgeois state, as in the old capitalist countries. The crisis of modern revisionism is a direct expression of the crisis of capitalism and the bourgeois ideology in general.

The revisionist betrayal and the restoration of capitalism in a series of former socialist countries have created great confusion about the problem of socialism, which is the nub of the ideological struggle going on in the world today. The problem is that the revisionists present the capitalist society re-established in their countries as a pure socialist society, as "real socialism", and as "developed", or moreover "very highly developed" socialism. The fact that many parties and different political forces, which are far removed from scientific socialism, talk about socialism, as well as the efforts which the bourgeoisie and its propaganda make to distort the true socialist ideals and to alienate the masses from the struggle for the triumph of these ideals, add even more to this confusion.

Clarity on this question, the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between genuine socialism and pseudo-socialism, is of capital importance to waging the struggle of the working class and the working masses successfully. If it does not have a clear concept of socialist society, if it does not abide by its principles and universal laws, the revolution stops half-way. The revolution may be carried out, but when it lacks the genuine socialist perspective it can deviate, and the struggle and sacrifices made for its triumph will be in vain.

The ideas of genuine socialism have been and remain a great force to inspire, mobilize and organize the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Today there is no need to invent new "socialisms" or to copy the so-called socialism of the modern revisionists, such as the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and other models, which are socialism only in name.

There is nothing unknown about what socialism is, what it represents and what it brings about, how it is achieved and how socialist society is built. A theory and practice of [word indistinct] scientific socialism exists. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us this theory. We find the practice of it in that rich experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin, and we find it today in Albania, where the new society is being built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, as Lenin said, socialism will look different and will have its own special features in different countries as a result of the differing socio-economic conditions, the way in which the revolution is carried out, the traditions, the international circumstances, etc. But the basic principles and the universal laws of socialism remain unshakeable and are essential for all countries.

The Marxist-Leninists carefully study the revolutionary processes in their own countries, as well as the national and international conditions in which they take place. They are not dogmatic either in theory or in practice. For them, Marxism-Leninism, as a dialectical materialist world outlook, is a living creative doctrine in ceaseless development.

The Marxist-Leninists are not conservative and fanatical, as the revisionists and the bourgeois charge. On the contrary, they are the most progressive people, resolute fighters against everything outdated and backward.

They stand firmly on the positions of the new and fight with all their might for its victory. The revisionists and all the other opportunists who, as lackeys of the bourgeoisie, defend a lost cause, defend an obsolete order of oppression and exploitation, are conservative and reactionary. It is precisely this reactionary position which has plunged modern revisionism into a profound crisis.

For our Marxist-Leninist parties the times are revolutionary. The new Marxist-Leninist parties are growing and tempering themselves all over the world. Their role and activity, their links and influence among the working class and masses are increasing. New parties have been created in many different countries and zones. All the conditions exist for them to be created even where there are no genuine revolutionary parties of the working class. This is an imperative fighting task of the most conscious, revolutionary elements of the proletariat.

It is an honour for our Party of Labour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, which are equal detachments of the revolutionary movement of the working class, in the great historic struggle for the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. The Albanian communists and our whole people prize very highly the solidarity, the love and trust which the sister Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat and the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples display for the Party of Labour and Socialist Albania. This is a powerful support and encouragement for us. In all circumstances and in any situation our party and people will fight to perform their national and international tasks with honour, to build socialism successfully in Albania, and to ardently defend the revolutionary cause of the proletarians and the peoples.

Foreign Delegations Arrive

AU291015 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Tirana, 29 Oct (ATA) -- At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L) led by the secretary general, David Williams; the delegation of the Communist Party of Dahomey; the delegation of the Communist Party of Labour of the Dominican Republic, led by the secretary general, Rafael Calub Mehia; the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, led by the secretary of the CC, Pasqual Prado; the delegation of the Workers' Communist Party of France, led by Chantal; the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, led by the secretary general, Lal Sing; the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), led by the first secretary of the Central Committee; the delegation of the Communist Party of Mexico (M-L), led by the member of the Central Executive Commission, Sergio Barlos; the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), led by the political secretary, Jose Alves; the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) led by the member of the secretariat of the CC, Raul Marko; the delegation of the Communist Party of Togo, led by the first secretary, Kokou Jyl; the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist movement "The Proletariat Action" of Chile, led by the member of the central leadership and the Political Secretariat, Migel Asenho; arrived in Albania to attend the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the PLA.

At the airport the delegations were welcomed by the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Ramiz Alia; the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Manush Myftiu; by the members of the Central Committee Behar Shtylla, Foto Cami, Mehmet Karakushi and Miti Nito and by the director of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the party, Agim Popa.

A group of Young Pioneers presented the friends with bouquets of flowers.

30 October Arrival

AU301912 Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 30 Oct 81

["Foreign Delegations That Will Attend the Proceedings of the 8th Congress of the PLA Arrive in Albania" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 30 Oct (ATA) -- At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam, led by the secretary of the Central Committee (Song Hao), the delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark (M-L), led by the first secretary of the C.C. (Klaus Ris Klausen), the delegation of the Communist Party of Germany, led by the chairman of the party Ernst Aust, the delegation of the Organisation for the Founding of the Communist Party of Sweden, led by the member of the Secretariat of the C.C. Nils Anderson arrived in this country yesterday to attend the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the PLA.

The delegations were welcomed at the airport by the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Hekuran Isai, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party Rita Marko, the members of the Central Committee of the party Behar Shtylla and Miti Nito and the director of the Foreign Directorate of the Central Committee of the party, Agim Popa.

Likewise the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (M-L), led by the chairman of the party Mardial Bains arrived in this country yesterday.

The delegation was welcomed by the alternative member of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Executive Committee of Shkoder District People's Council, Lefter Goga and the secretary of the district party committee, Adem Tukaj.

31 October Arrivals

AU312006 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] The delegations of the Communist Party of Indonesia and of the Peruvian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the latter led by party general secretary (Antonio Fernandez), arrived today in our country at the invitation of the AWP Central Committee, to attend the Eighth AWP Congress. The delegations were welcomed by Azem Cukaj, secretary of the Shkoder District AWP Central Committee.

Hoxha Receives Delegations

AU301457 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Summary] Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, today received the foreign delegations which will attend the Eighth AWP Congress at the invitation of the AWP Central Committee, from: Vietnam, Brazil, Germany, Spain, Colombia, Portugal, Ecuador, Canada, Denmark, Iran, France, Japan, Togo, New Zealand, Dominican Republic, India, Britain, Mexico, Indonesia, Dahomey, Sweden and Chile. The reception was also attended by Adil Carcani, Haki Toska, Herkuran Isa, Kadri Hasbiu, Manush Myftiu, Mehmet Shehu, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Spiro Koleka and Simon Stefani; AWP Central Committee members Behar Shtylla, Foto Cami, Gafur Cuci and Ndreci Plasari, as well as Agim Popa, director of the Foreign Directorate of the AWP Central Committee.

Having expressed the pleasure felt by all Albanian communists with the participation of the delegations from sister parties in the proceedings of the Eighth AWP Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out the importance of meetings between these parties in the current situation of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, which are trying to undermine the struggle of the proletariat and the peoples.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also informed the members of the foreign delegations about the achievements of our people in the construction of socialism under the party's leadership. The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

ZERI I POPULLIT Editorial

AU010750 Tirana ATA in English 0733 GMT 1 Nov 81

["Congress of Great Victories and Prospects" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 1 Nov (ATA) -- Today all the newspapers devote their editorials and whole pages to the 8th congress of the Party of Labour of Albania.

In its editorial entitled: "Congress of Great Victories and Prospects", the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes:

At this historic congress the party draws the balance of its revolutionary activity, great work and struggle carried out by the working class, cooperativist peasantry, all the working masses under its leadership for the realisation of the great tasks set by the 7th congress of the party for the socialist construction, the safeguard and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. The work and struggle for the implementation of the tasks of the 7th congress have strengthened and further revolutionized the party, have steeled the ideological and organisational unity of its ranks, have raised its leading role in all the country's life to a higher level. The party comes to this congress stronger than ever, full of vitality and dynamism, united to a man round the Central Committee of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

The newspaper speaks about the development that different sectors of economy have assumed. It points out that as a result of these achievements the well-being of the working masses has been raised. Important victories have been achieved also in the deepening of the socialist revolution in the fields of ideology and culture, in all the work of the party for the revolutionary education of the masses. Under the special care of the party and under its direct leadership, the defence potential of the homeland has increased and strengthened still more.

Distinguishing features of our internal situation, "ZERI I POPULLIT" continues, are the sound revolutionary atmosphere and fighting spirit, the unbreakable unity of the people, their unity round the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the party. Our working class, cooperativist peasantry, people's intelligentsia, all the working masses, with their ranks close round the party and under its leadership, have withstood with success the waves of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. The enemies of the cause of socialism and our revolution have always broken their neck and have failed with shame. The true Marxist-Leninist word of Socialist Albania, of our glorious party has powerfully resounded in the international arena, in support of the revolutionary forces and the freedom-loving peoples against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, with the American on [as received] at the head, against Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism, against revisionism of all hues. Socialist Albania has friends everywhere in the world. Its international prestige is today higher than ever.

The great revolutionary changes and radical transformations realised in Albania, the newspaper stresses, became possible because a genuine revolutionary party, a party loyal to the end to the interest of the people -- the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour) -- took the destinies of the country in its hands 40 years ago, on November 8, 1941.

The realisations of our country in the development of industry and agriculture, in art and culture, in the material and spiritual world of our people are testimony to the superiority of our socialist system over the capitalist and revisionist one, of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the party. The results achieved over the 40 years are a proof of that great and undeniable fact that revolution in Albania has pursued a correct road and has always been on the ascent, that our party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head has implemented Marxism-Leninism in a creative way, thus making its contribution to the enrichment of the theory and practice of the revolution.

Further on "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes:

The 8th congress of the party will discuss and will approve the draft-plan of the 7th Five-Year Plan of the development of economy and culture. After speaking of the broad prospects opened to the country in the new five-year plan, the newspaper continues:

The proceedings of this congress and the decisions it will adopt, summing up the new historic experience elaborated by our party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, will open new brilliant prospects to the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in our country. First of all, they will serve the strengthening of the party itself, of its leading role in all the fields of the life of our country, the further strengthening and improvement of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the homeland, the education and further revolutionary tempering of our new man.

The 8th congress of the party, the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" underlines in conclusion, will also be another powerful testimony to the boundless loyalty of our party to the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism. Our party has defended and will continue to consistently defend Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the proletariat and of the freedom-loving peoples, in struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

HOXHA, SHEHU AT OPENING OF HISTORICAL MUSEUM

AU281440 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] The ceremony inaugurating the national historical museum was organized in Tirana at 1100 on 28 October. Taking part in this ceremony were Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and also Comrades Ramiz Alia, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hasbiu, Adil Carcani, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Spiro Koleka, Simon Stefani, Qirjako Mihali, Pilo Perister, Llambi Gegprifti, Lenka Cuko and other comrades.

Manush Myftiu, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, spoke on the occasion. Amidst the revolutionary enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Enver Hoxha cut the inauguration ribbon. Afterwards visits were made to the museum's halls. Comrade Enver was interested in all the objects exhibited here, for their historical value and above all for the scientific basis of various studies. He met and congratulated the architects of this museum for drafting and masterly implementing this new important object. Present in all the halls of this museum is the glorious history of our people. It is a magnificent work which will serve the patriotic and revolutionary education of all generations.

FILIPOV RECEIVES USSR MINISTER VITALIY CHUDIN

AU301546 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman, today received Vitaliy Chudin, USSR minister of construction, road and municipal machine building. The possibilities for expanding cooperation in machine building and mainly in the sphere of road construction technology, as well as in machines and equipment for construction materials, were discussed.

Certain issues pertaining to the development and load capacity of the heavy machine building plant in Ruse were also reviewed.

Protocol Signed 30 Oct

AU311528 Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 31 Oct (BTA) -- The visit of Mr Vitaliy Chudin, minister of construction, road and communal mechanical engineering of the Soviet Union to Bulgaria, ended here last night with the signing of a protocol.

In the meetings with the management of the Ministry of Mechanical Engineering and Electronics, stress was laid on the successfully developing cooperation of the two ministries.

Specialization and joint production are to go on. The trade of specialized output is to grow by 33 per cent, and cooperated deliveries are to increase by 95 per cent as against the last five-year period. Thanks to the further division of labour the parallel production of building and road machinery will be reduced considerably.

The document was signed by Mr Toncho Chakurov, minister of mechanical engineering and electronics, and Mr Vitaliy Chudin, minister of construction, road and communal mechanical engineering.

ZHIVKOV THANKS, AWARDS POLAND'S JABLONSKI

AU280841 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 81 pp 1,3

[Text of speech by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, at 21 October ceremony in Sofia, at which Poland's President Henryk Jablonski awarded Todor Zhivkov the Grand Ribbon of the Order for Services to Poland, and was awarded the Dimitrov Award by Todor Zhivkov]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Jablonski, comrades, please allow me to express my most cordial gratitude to the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland for awarding me the high order of the Grand Ribbon of the Order for Services to the People's Republic of Poland. I accept this distinction not only and not so much as an expression of my contribution to constructing socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and for developing and strengthening Bulgarian-Polish friendship and cooperation, but most of all as an expression of respect for the BCP and the Bulgarian people, builders of the developed socialist society, and to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which is an active member of our socialist society and a constructive factor of world peace and security.

Thank you, Comrade Jablonski, for the evaluation of my activity as a party and state leader of socialist Bulgaria.

The enemies of socialism know very well that the unity of action and unity of the parties and states of our community are a powerful force for mankind's peaceful development and progress. The enemies of socialism have always strived to weaken this unity.

Fraternal Poland is now their target. Therefore the communists and working people in Bulgaria are following with alarm the development of the situation in the People's Republic of Poland. Loyal to socialist internationalism, the Bulgarian communists and our entire people are warmly supporting the efforts of the PZPR, the people's government and honest Polish patriots who are cooperating in stabilizing the political and economic situation and in decisively opposing the forces in your country hostile to socialism. We are confident that under the PZPR leadership the Polish people's socialist achievements will be deservedly defended, and that the further construction of socialism on Polish soil will continue.

Comrade Jablonski, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I greet you on being awarded the Georgi Dimitrov Order, which I have just bestowed on you. You have been decorated with Bulgaria's highest order for your active political and state activity and in connection with your 70th birthday. We highly value your contribution to developing and strengthening the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the PZPR and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic in constructing socialism in People's Poland, and strengthening the cohesion of the socialist community's countries. Your work in the area of the Marxist historic science as well as your continuous and fruitful pedagogic and educational activity are well known in Bulgaria.

Comrade Jablonski, I would like to wish you from the bottom of my heart good health and new successes in your highly responsible work for the benefit of the Polish people and for further constructing socialism in socialist Poland.

Thanking you for the high distinction, Comrade Jablonski, and greeting you once again on being awarded the high Bulgarian order, I am convinced that as up to now, so also in future we will devote all our forces and capability to the further construction of socialism in our countries, in close unity and friendship with the USSR and the Warsaw Pact and CEMA member-countries. Please convey my best wishes, as well as the wishes of the Bulgarian communists and working people to the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic and to the fraternal Polish people. We are confident that the relations between our parties, countries and peoples will develop further on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and in the interest of our common socialist development and world peace and social progress.

Thank you!

JOINT STATEMENT FOLLOWS SYRIAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT

JN301018 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1920 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Syrian-Bulgarian joint statement issued on 29 October 1981 following Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad's visit to Bulgaria 26-29 October]

[Text] At the invitation of President Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, President Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, paid an official friendly visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria at the head of a party and government delegation during the period 26-29 October 1981.

The great guest laid a wreath on the tomb of Georgi Dimitrov, leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people and leading figure in the international communist and workers movement.

The president of the Syrian Arab Republic and secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, Hafiz al-Asad, visited economic projects and historical and cultural places and became acquainted with the Bulgarian people's achievements in building a developed socialist society. Wherever he went, the Syrian Arab president was received with great warmth and sentiments of friendship for the Syrian Arab Republic and of solidarity with the Syrian Arab people against the Israeli aggressors and the plans of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction.

The two presidents held a series of meetings and official talks in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. The talks dealt with bilateral relations between the two friendly countries and a number of international issues of mutual concern, especially the Middle East situation.

The talks were attended on the Syrian Arab side by 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, member of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party leadership, deputy prime minister and foreign minister; 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah, member of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party leadership and deputy prime minister for economic affairs; Daniel Ni'mah, member of the National Progressive Front leadership; Dr Salim Yasin, minister of state for planning affairs; Dr Muhammad al-Atrash, minister of economy and foreign trade; Dr Husayn al-Qadi, minister of industry; Dr Hamid Musawkar, minister of agriculture and agrarian reform; and 'Abd ar-Razzaq Shakir, Syrian ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The talks were attended on the Bulgarian side by Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council; Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and foreign minister; Todor Bozhinov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Khristo Khristov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and minister of foreign trade; Georgi Pavlov, member of the BCP Central Council, chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the Environment and head of the Bulgarian side in the joint committee for economic, technical and scientific cooperation; Aleksandur Petkov, candidate member of BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian National Agricultural and Industrial Union; and Georgi Yankov, Bulgarian ambassador to Syria.

The two presidents exchanged information on the duties implemented by the Syrian Arab and Bulgarian peoples in the fields of domestic and foreign policy and their successes in the various fields.

Syrian president Hafiz al-Asad expressed his great appreciation of the Bulgarian people's success in building an advanced socialist society and implementing the resolutions of the 12th BCP Conference under the BCP's leadership and of the constructive policy adopted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria in order to strengthen international peace and security and develop cooperation in the Balkan region, Europe and the world.

President al-Asad welcomed the idea of making the Balkan area a nuclear-free zone.

President al-Asad expressed, in his own name and on behalf of the Syrian Arab people, his warmest wishes and heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov expressed his great appreciation of the Syrian Arab people's success in building a socialist society, carrying out their duties in the political, social, economic and military fields in implementation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party's congress decisions and confronting the Israeli aggressor in order to abort the Camp David accords and imperialist-Zionist-reactionary schemes in the Middle East.

He reiterated Bulgaria's complete support for the just struggle being waged by Syria and the other Arab states.

The two presidents noted with satisfaction the growth of friendly Syrian-Bulgarian relations and their increasing mutual cooperation. They expressed satisfaction at the development of relations between the BCP and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, affirming their desire to further strengthen and develop these relations in the future. They also stressed the need to strengthen and expand relations and cooperation between the two countries' social and popular organizations.

On developing economic relations, the current stage was discussed at length. Indeed, it was discovered that after the Damascus meeting of April 1980 these relations had entered a new stage. Studies and the implementation of projects and activities in the fields of irrigation, agriculture, petrochemicals, planning and others were expedited.

It was noted with satisfaction that Syrian-Bulgarian trade exchanges had increased. The activities of the joint Syrian-Bulgarian committee for economic, technical and scientific cooperation had been intensified. During the sessions held this year, steps were defined in order to effectively implement the arrangements made in the fields of transport, energy, agriculture, industry and others.

It was stressed that implementing such new forms of cooperation as establishing joint companies will strengthen and expand Syrian-Bulgarian economic relations and that jointly adopting acceptable forms of coordination and planning will strengthen the development of their economic, scientific and technical relations and result in diversifying and increasing the trade exchange and a basic expansion of cooperation.

The two presidents noted with satisfaction the great development in the field of bilateral cultural cooperation. They expressed their desire to further develop cultural exchange in order to acquaint themselves with each other's lives.

The two presidents underlined the great role played by the continuous personal meetings between the two countries' leaders and the importance of strengthening relations of bilateral friendship and cooperation in all fields.

It was agreed that it is necessary to continue and expand the scope of contacts and consultations at all levels in order to develop relations on a new qualitative level.

During the visit, the two sides signed a trade protocol for the period 1982-1985, a protocol on the main bases for establishing joint companies, a protocol on the general conditions for dispatching Bulgarian experts to the Syrian Arab Republic and a general protocol on subsequent development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

The two sides reviewed the current international situation and noted with satisfaction the identity or proximity of their countries' stands on current major international issues. The two presidents expressed their concern over international tension as a result of the activities of the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces and their hegemony, which creates disputes, increases the arms race, plans to produce and use new weapons of total destruction, and names vast areas of the world as zones vital to their interests for the purpose of building a network of military bases and stockpiling weapons in them. These forces attribute international terrorism to national liberation movements when they are using terrorist and repressive methods against strugglers fighting for national independence and freedom, peace and social progress.

The Syrian Arab Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria firmly condemn these practices, the exportation of the counterrevolution and the crushing of peoples' national liberation movements.

They also condemn the imperialist and reactionary circles' policy of hegemony and exploitation which threatens international detente, increases the arms race, exploits liberated peoples, and interferes in the internal affairs of sovereign states and puts pressure on them.

The two sides emphasized that backing world peace and security, reducing international tension, stopping the arms race, especially in the nuclear field and other means of total destruction, removing the hotbeds of tension and averting the danger of a nuclear clash are among the major problems facing humanity. They call for the opening of a serious, honest and constructive dialogue in the field of disarmament, military relaxation and curbing the arms race.

The main attention during the talks centered on the Middle East situation. Both sides reaffirmed their strong condemnation of the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, which was concluded with the active participation of the United States, directed against the basic rights and interests of the Arab nation and hampers the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

The two sides totally reject the policy of separate deals, including the Egyptian-Israeli-U.S. attempts to usurp rights by holding negotiations concerning the destiny of the Palestinian people through what is termed the autonomy negotiations. They also rejected the establishment of a U.S. military presence in the Middle East through the multinational force in the Sinai.

The two sides strongly condemn Israel's practices in the occupied Arab territory of annexation, expansion, repression, persecution, building settlements, deportation, violating the Arabs' historical and cultural places, violating human rights, racial discrimination, physical liquidation of Palestinian leaders and the declaration of Jerusalem as its capital. They consider this null and void and a violation of international law, further aggravating the explosive situation in the region.

The two sides assert that the establishment of a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East is only possible through Israel's complete and unconditional withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, and the acknowledgment of the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights, including their right to return to their homeland, to determine their own destiny and to set up their own independent state in accordance with the UN resolutions concerning the Palestine question. The two sides assert that in order to achieve this solution, all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, must participate on an equal basis.

The two sides condemn the new qualitative development in U.S.-Israel relations represented by the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel. They believe that despite its enormous military and economic aid to Israel, and also despite the military bases it has planted in the region, the United States has resorted to a new operation which represents the utmost danger to the Arabs and their interests and to the security and stability of the Middle East.

In this respect, the two sides referred to the great importance of the resolutions of the 5th conference of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front which met in September 1981 in Benghazi to cope with this serious development in U.S.-Israeli relations. They decided to support the front's resolutions and member states, including the resolution to enter into negotiations with the USSR to raise relations with it to a new qualitative level.

The two sides praised the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Syrian Arab Republic and the USSR which serves the interests of both friendly peoples and the struggle for just peace in the Arab region and backs the peoples' liberation struggle in the world, as well as the progressive and socialist forces, struggle against the imperialist onslaught on an international level.

In reviewing the situation in Lebanon, the two sides strongly condemned Israel's continuous and mounting aggression, backed by the imperialist forces, against Lebanese inhabitants and peaceful Palestinian camps and residential areas. They also strongly condemned Israel's interference in internal Lebanese affairs, which has become increasingly impudent and repressive and constitutes a threat to peace and security in the region. While insisting on the immediate cessation of Israel's acts of aggression against Lebanon, the two sides stress the need to back national accord in Lebanon, consolidate the legitimate authority of the Lebanese Government throughout the country to guarantee Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and to safeguard the legitimate interests of the Palestinian resistance movement. In this respect, the Bulgarian side praised the positive role played by the Arab deterrent forces in Lebanon.

The two sides condemn the recent U.S. activities regarding developments in Egypt. These activities are increasing tension in the eastern Mediterranean and are constituting a threat to the security of the countries in this part of the world.

The two sides expressed their firm conviction that in view of the tense and serious situation in the Middle East, it has become increasingly important to unify the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab countries and to strengthen the friendship and cooperation of these forces with the USSR and the other socialist bloc countries.

In this respect, the Syrian side expressed its gratitude for the continued support which the socialist bloc countries are giving the Arab countries.

On the situation in Europe, the two sides noted with satisfaction the positive role played by the final document of the Security and Cooperation Conference in Helsinki, while expressing the hope that the Madrid meeting would have constructive results, strengthen peace and security, develop cooperation and deepen detente by reaching agreement on holding a conference for military detente and European detente.

The two sides advocated the resumption of talks, without delay, on limiting nuclear arms in Europe on the basis of maintaining the principle of equality and compatible security for all sides. The suitable atmosphere for holding such talks would be created with the implementation of the proposal that during the talks a ban should be imposed on the quantitative and qualitative increase and modernization of medium-range nuclear missiles which are presently deployed in Europe, including sophisticated U.S. nuclear arms.

Syria greatly appreciates the effective and constructive activities of the socialist bloc states in order to safeguard and strengthen peace, detente and disarmament. The two sides expressed solidarity with Afghanistan in its struggle for national independence and sovereignty. They stressed the need to reach a political settlement in the area around Afghanistan which completely guarantees that all forms of foreign intervention by imperialist and reactionary forces in Afghanistan's affairs be completely stopped and not allowed to resume.

The two sides expressed solidarity with and support for the struggle to eliminate colonialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination in the African Continent. The two sides stressed the need to immediately end Namibia's occupation, calling for the withdrawal of South African forces from its territories, expeditiously implementing UN resolutions on it and letting the real representatives of the people, SWAPO, assume power in the country.

They also expressed their support for the struggle being waged by the South African people to eliminate the apartheid regime, calling for stopping the aggressive activities of the racist regime in South Africa against Angola and Mozambique.

The two sides stressed the need to continue strengthening the alliance between the world's socialist forces and the national liberation movements in the struggle being waged to safeguard international peace and security, to achieve the peoples' freedom and independence and to liberate these peoples' territories from foreign occupation, for it is a struggle waged against colonialism, imperialism, Zionism and racial discrimination. They cited the positive role being played by the Nonaligned Movement in the present international policy.

The two sides stressed the need to continue international efforts to establish a new world economic order on the basis of equality and compatibility in economic relations. They expressed support for the efforts being exerted by the developing states to achieve their economic freedom, exercise complete sovereignty over their natural resources and invest these resources for the progress and prosperity of its peoples.

The two sides expressed great appreciation for the results of the visit by the Syrian president and secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party to the People's Republic of Bulgaria and believe that this visit will effectively contribute to expanding and deepening bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation in all fields, which is in the mutual interest of the two peoples and will strengthen world peace, security and social progress.

The Syrian president and secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party expressed deep thanks to the Bulgarian people and their leaders for the great hospitality and welcome accorded him. He extended an invitation to Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to visit Syria. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction and the date will be fixed later.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON DANISH MINISTER'S VISIT

'Positive Results'

AU271145 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Oct 81 p 3

["Announcement" on the visit of Kjeld Olesen, foreign minister of the Kingdom of Denmark to Bulgaria 22-23 October]

[Text] At the invitation of Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, Kjeld Olesen, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark, paid Bulgaria an official visit from 22 to 23 October 1981.

During his visit Minister Kjeld Olesen was received by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. He was also received by Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The two ministers noted with satisfaction the positive results which have been achieved in the development of the Bulgarian-Danish relations in recent years. They expressed the readiness and willingness of their governments to continue efforts for further activating these relations and elevating their level.

They recognized the necessity of making further efforts for developing mutually advantageous trade as well as economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

Satisfaction with the constant development of cultural cooperation between the two countries was expressed.

During their talks the two foreign ministers exchanged views on a number of topical international issues.

The talks between the two ministers of foreign affairs took place in an atmosphere of friendship and in a constructive spirit. They revealed new possibilities for the further and beneficial development of Bulgarian-Danish relations in all areas.

Kjeld Olesen, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark, invited Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to pay Denmark an official visit. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Dinner Toasts

AU231055 Sofia BTA in English 0828 CMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA) -- The Bulgarian people cherish sincere affection for the people of Denmark who have demonstrated in their centuries-long history their diligence, their creative genius, their love for peace, said minister Petur Mladenov in his toast speech at the dinner he gave for Denmark's foreign minister. He stressed that Bulgaro-Danish relations are developing favourably and there are no problems standing between the two countries. This is really true but it must not calm us down, our goals should rise still higher, he said. The Bulgarian foreign minister noted that the existing possibilities for further developing of the economic cooperation and trade on mutually advantageous basis and of cultural cooperation should be explored.

Laying emphasis on how complicated and strained the international situation is, minister Petur Mladenov pointed to the necessity of making efforts at overcoming the differences through negotiations, at strengthening security and detente, at halting the arms race and at taking efficient measures for disarmament, for doing away with the hotbeds of tension, for developing the international cooperation.

This is namely what Bulgaria and her allies' approach is, Mr Petur Mladenov stressed. "We stand for a dialogue, based on the principles of equality and equal security, of mutual respect of interests. We are against stockpiling death and destruction means. We hope that all our partners will be convinced in our sincerity and our good will and they will respond with reciprocity - which will be of common interest, in favour of peace, detente and progress in the world", he said further on.

Bulgaria, the Bulgarian foreign minister continued, is making efforts aimed at bringing the Madrid talks to a successful close, at taking a decision for convening a European military detente and disarmament conference. We want to believe that at the forthcoming USSR-USA talks on the nuclear weapons on the continent a mutually acceptable agreement shall be reached.

Dwelling on situation in the Middle and Near East, in South Africa and Southeast Asia, the tender points in a number of other regions in the world which are posing a threat to the world peace, Minister Mladenov laid stress on the necessity of making decisions which are to be in the interests of those regions' peoples, in the interest of international security.

He said that Bulgaria is striving after strengthening and developing goodneighbourly relations with all the Balkan states. The active programme we set forth at the 12th Congress of the BCP is in this vein. The idea of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans is also aimed at consolidating peace and security in our region, in Europe and in the whole world, too, Minister Petur Mladenov continued saying.

At the solemn meeting on the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and President of the State Council, put forward a proposal for the heads of the Balkan countries to meet next year in Sofia for discussing this idea. "We hope that this proposal will be received with understanding by our partners and we also hope that the time when nuclear-free zones will spread all the way north and south of our continents is not too far away. We think that this will be to the benefit of our peoples, to the benefit of everybody, said he in conclusion.

In this toast speech Mr Kjeld Olesen, Denmark's foreign minister, expressed warm best wishes on the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state on behalf of his government.

He emphasized that Denmark and Bulgaria's belonging to different alliances and political and social systems has never been a hindrance to the steady development of the frequent and diverse contacts between them.

Mr Kjeld Olesen said: "The Danish Government considers these relations as very important and hopes that Danish-Bulgarian ties will expand still further. We understand quite well that it is of paramount importance that the dialogue is also maintained and deepened by the smaller countries belonging to NATO and the Warsaw Treaty".

He noted that today the complicated problems of the international situation can be solved on the way of a frank and sincere dialogue between the East and the West.

Denmark's foreign minister said: "Such a dialogue could and should provide and expand the possibilities for a fresh impetus to detente - a real detente resting on reciprocal respect of the two sides' rights, for equal security at a lowest possible armament level".

All the possibilities, he went on, which are at our disposal, should be used with a view that this dialogue is maintained and developed. It is in this sense that I view my visit to Bulgaria, Mr Kjeld Olesen underlined.

Dwelling on the Madrid European security and cooperation meeting, he expressed hope that its work will end successfully before the end of the year. "Denmark will continue to work for a meaningful and balanced final document to be adopted. We hope that the exact terms for a European disarmament conference will be fixed. We also know that further successes in the humanitarian field of the Final Act can be achieved", the Danish foreign minister continued.

He expressed hope that constructive efforts at resolving the issues related to the hotbeds of tension in the world are to be made. Denmark is actively aiding these issues to be discussed at different international forums and in the first place in the United Nations organization.

Mr Kjeld Olesen said that the relations between Denmark and Bulgaria are developing in many other spheres.

In the field of trade, he went on, we were good partners and the trade has marked a considerable increase. We, he said, hope and will make efforts for further developing our trade contacts. We see possibilities for increasing the cooperation and to expand it into new spheres, the Danish foreign minister added.

CUBAN DELEGATION TO ANNIVERSARY DEPARTS

AU301051 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] The delegation of the Republic of Cuba, headed by Faustino Perez (Hernandez), member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chief of the office for servicing local people's government organs, left our country yesterday.

The delegation attended the celebrations on the occasion of Bulgaria's 1,300th state anniversary.

At Sofia Airport the delegation was seen off by Dimitur Dimitrov, head of the BCP Central Committee "People's Councils and Mass Organizations" Department, as well as by other high-ranking functionaries of the BCP Central Committee.

SOFIA RADIO REPORTS ZHIVKOV'S ACTIVITIES

AU301100 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council, received the chairmen of academies of sciences from socialist countries, who are visiting Bulgaria to attend the second session of chairmen of academies of sciences from socialist countries. The meeting was attended by Angel Balevski, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Todor Zhivkov also received Harold Heimsoeth, FRG ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, on the occasion of his forthcoming final departure.

COMMENTARY ON RELATIONS WITH TURKEY SUMMARIZED

AU290915 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 29 Oct 81

["On Turkey's National Holiday" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA) -- Prompted by Turkey's national day, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME and OTECHESTVEN FRONT of today carry commentaries on the development of Bulgaro-Turkish relations.

They emphasize that new Turkey is associated with the name and lifework of the great son of the Turkish people Kemal Ataturk, her founder and builder.

Dwelling on Bulgaro-Turkish cooperation, the victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria. [as received]

According to RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the relations of Bulgaria and Turkey have developed positively thanks to the political climate in Europe, but first of all they are determined by the desire of our peoples and governments that we live in peace, understanding and goodneighborliness.

ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME emphasizes that realism and mutual understanding are the solid foundation on which Bulgaro-Turkish relations develop.

Emphasizing Bulgaria's striving after a policy of goodneighborliness, peace and developing her relations with the Balkan countries, the dailies point out that this policy has been reaffirmed in Mr Todor Zhivkov's speech at the 12th BCP Congress and his oration on Bulgaria's 1300th anniversary.

MADRID MEETING: 'COUNTERPOINT OF CONFRONTATION'

AU281630 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Commentary by Todor Stoyanov, BTA observer: "The Madrid Meeting -- Decisive Stage"]

[Text] Sofia, 28 Oct -- Undoubtedly the Madrid meeting is a counterpoint of confrontation and the atmosphere of the cold war. For this reason precisely the re-opening of the meeting will have to inspire hope that the knot of unresolved differences will finally be unravelled and that the course towards a successful completion will be at last undertaken. Such a finale would have remedied the cause of endangered detente.

The summer recession provided an abundance of facts which outlined before the eyes of mankind the growing risks of clashes, against which the socialist countries warned the world beforehand. Against such a background the responsibility of the forces at the negotiation table in the Spanish capital stands out with its entire global importance.

The past exists for us to learn lessons from it. That is why the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries wish to hope that their Western partners will introduce more constructive spirit and willingness to make compromises at the discussions which began yesterday. This is the approach needed in order to dispel the dangers looming over the fate of the meeting.

Many times before has Europe been the scene of conflicts and this has always affected the whole world. After the Helsinki conference, budding hopes appeared, and with reason, that it is possible to establish a spirit of peace and effective contacts in Europe, between Eastern and Western Europe.

The progress achieved so far in the decision to convene a conference on military detente and on disarmament in Europe is a source of definite optimism. This is an evidence that the meeting can overcome the other differences and gradually take the path proper for the present historical moment.

A progress on key contemporary problems, registered in Madrid can provide a substantial impetus to the settlement of the other still uncoordinated questions.

With its numerous initiatives and good will the Soviet Union has repeatedly reaffirmed its conviction that objective possibilities are at hand to divert Europe from the path of confrontation into which some Western powers are seeking to push it. But detente, especially detente in the military sphere and in the sphere of East-West trust is possible only as a well balanced process, advantageous for both sides. In such an approach the key to a successful end of the meeting should be looked for.

The dialogue in Madrid should end in accords which will continue what was begun in Helsinki under the present conditions. On the contrary, if the meeting ends in failure, this will further aggravate the already strained international situation, laying on it one more sign of pessimism.

We would like to believe that in the Spanish capital, just like in the Finnish one, the constructive approach towards the complicated problems of the contemporary political situation will ultimately win. So that the Spanish capital can turn into one more synonym of commonsense, not into a memory of a lost peace-time battle.

DYULGEROV EXPLAINS TRADE UNION TASKS, GOALS

AU281050 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] At the initiative of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, on 28 October in Sofia a meeting between Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate-member and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council, and journalists took place. Veselin Yosifov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian journalists, chaired the meeting.

Comrade Petur Dyulgerov briefed the attending journalists on the tasks of the Bulgarian Trade Union in implementing the tasks ensuing from the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. He devoted special attention to the participation of the trade union organs and organizations in implementing the party's strategy, intensifying the national economy, popularizing the front-ranking experience and organizing brigades of a new type. He also spoke on the trade union's tasks in implementing the BCP socioeconomic policy.

POLISH SITUATION ANALYZED, CRITICIZED

Jaruzelski's Proposals

LD010048 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Commentary by Warsaw correspondent Frantisek Sojka]

[Text] Will the next days bring at least a partial calming of the situation in Poland? This is a question which is being asked after the Fifth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the Sejm session and the 28 October general strike.

The public can see daily that the strikes and provocations which are constantly taking place in many parts of the country can only deepen further the economic and political crisis, and that the Solidarity leaders are interested only in gaining power and liquidating the socialist system.

Typical from this point of view was the speech of Marian Jurczyk, head of the Szczecin Solidarity, who recently called for the construction of gallows and called the government and deputies traitors to the Polish nation. There can be no doubt that similar antiparty and antistate speeches were in the mind of Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee when he said that the government could not continue to watch passively the activity of extremist forces, driving Poland to a catastrophe. Premier Jaruzelski submitted proposals to the Sejm for measures which should guarantee the end of the strike madness launched by enemies of socialism, enemies of various colors and shades who have assembled under the name of Solidarity in order to, for fat pay from Western anticommunist centers, serve as the Trojan horse for the destruction of socialism. No wonder, therefore, that letters are arriving from party primary organizations in which people ask: What will happen next, when will there be an end to the raging of counter-revolutionary forces?

In the present sharp class struggle, unfortunately, the antisocialist forces from Solidarity have allies even in some representative bodies and of course in the Church.

The outcome depends above all on how able the PZPR will be to unite its ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on how able the government will be to act against the open destruction of the state.

The present crisis has much deeper roots than only in the last few months or years and one cannot therefore expect the solution of all problems in a short period. It is necessary, however, to act immediately against the still more impudent and more dangerous activity of counterrevolutionary forces in order to prevent a further tipping over the abyss. Otherwise, it is quite certain that tomorrow will be even worse, and this is what Solidarity is striving for.

'Decisive Stage' in Struggle

LD011124 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Excerpt] In the context of U.S. efforts to achieve global destabilization, the extent of the danger to European stability and with it the danger to peace, represented by so-called Solidarity's unbridled raging in Poland which oriented toward counterrevolution, becomes more conspicuous. Its biggest antigovernment action last week -- a 1-hour general strike -- did not proceed exactly as its leaders wished, but, for all that, was accompanied by even louder threats of civil war and announcements that the end was approaching and that victory was inevitable. Along with the West's strengthened support for Solidarity -- the FRG pledge to build a radio station for Solidarity is one eloquent display of this -- all circumstances show that developments in Poland are entering a decisive stage in the struggle for power in the state.

MLADA FRONTA Series

AU301044 [Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 14, 15 and 16 October, on page 3 in each instance, carries three 1,500-word installments of Oskar Krejci's series on "Ideology and Power Struggle in Poland."

The first installment of the series, entitled "Scenario Written by Anticommunism," deals with the origins of the Polish crisis. Krejci attributes its emergence to the "number of differences from the fraternal socialist countries" that have always been characteristic of the Polish social system -- the predominance of private farmers (who are described as a "reservoir of hostile ideology" and "exponents of a way of life that is unacceptable for socialism"; the position of the Catholic Church as "almost a second government in terms of authority"; and the fact that "for incomprehensible reasons, counterrevolution was given a chance to learn from its failures in 1956, 1970 and 1976." Thus, it was able to establish "parallel structures" in Poland in the second half of the seventies ("flying universities", KOR, independent trade unions), which "were fulfilling sometimes the same functions as official legal institutions, but on the basis of anticommunist ideology." According to Krejci, an "unpropitious role" in the emergence of the "parallel structures" was played by the Western human rights campaign, which "together with the pressure of the imperialist countries' foreign policy and manipulated public opinion" ensured their "inviolability."

However, as Krejci goes on to say, "it would be incorrect to perceive the events in Poland merely as a consequence of Western activities" and quotes a CPSU document, according to which "wherever the subversive activity of imperialism is coupled with mistakes and errors in the interior policy, there are prerequisites for the activation of antisocialist forces." Turning to these "mistakes and errors," Krejci lists the "non-class approach to social phenomena, mistakes in the license policy, the notion that the standard of living can be purchased in the West instead of focusing on coordinating economic policy with the socialist countries, neglect of the working people's justified demands, bureaucratism, corruption, and reliance on an automatic development in the field of ideology." According to Krejci, it is irrelevant which of these mistakes came first because "the socialist society is such a compact system that shortcomings in any aspect of its work sooner or later inevitably grow into problems in its other areas." Summing up the first installment, Krejci says that "it was the inability on the part of the former PZPR leaderships to learn the general laws governing the building of socialism and to understand the unique features of the Polish situation that prevented them from drawing up a truly scientific program of building a new society and from consistently implementing it."

The second installment of Krejci's series is entitled "Strategy for Dismantling Socialism" and analyzes the "colorful array" of "antisocialist forces" in Poland. The main current of opposition forces is represented, according to Krejci, by the "pragmatists" -- Solidarity, KOR and the "Catholic hierarchy." The pragmatists are characterized, according to Krejci, by their cautious approach and -- "in striking contrast to the crisis-ridden period in Czechoslovakia" -- by the absence of specific programs and "new models." He points out, for example, that the "demands for immediate elections were pushed into the background" and that the "pragmatists" only demand partial reforms. Krejci believes that this is motivated by purely tactical considerations because if the diverse groups making up the main current of opposition forces came up with their own specific programs "it would inevitably accentuate the differences between them and weaken them in the struggle that unites them: struggle against the PZPR and the socialist state." Next to the "pragmatists," Krejci distinguishes the "radicals" with their "direct and unconcealed calls for a new political system" (he mentions "Mozculski's Confederation for an Independent Poland as an example) and the "revisionists." Krejci notes that in contrast to the situation in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and 1969 where the "revisionists" were the "hegemony of counter-revolutionary forces," in Poland they are only their "key ally."

What all three opposition currents have in common, Krejci says, is their "demand for a pluralization of the ideological life in Poland" and he goes on to denounce this demand as "nothing but a smokescreen for the actual aim: gradually to liquidate the party's leading roles and to restore the class domination of the bourgeoisie in Polish society."

Concluding the second installment, Krejci says: "If we interpret power as influence on the decisionmaking process in certain spheres of social life, then we have to admit that in the Polish People's Republic there are social spheres without the government's power influence, spheres in which the decisions are made by 'Solidarity' and other parallel groups. Even though central power is not in the hands of the opposition forces, it is clear that every minimal program for leading Poland out of the crisis -- a program whose formulation and observance at any price is absolutely essential -- must include not only the task to retain power but also to regain it in a number of spheres of social life."

The third installment of Krejci's series is published under the headline "Struggle for Real Socialism." Krejci first dismisses the claim of "bourgeois propaganda" that the events in Poland confirm a failure of Marxism-Leninism, arguing that it was precisely the "neglect for the laws governing the building of socialism" that has led to the Polish crisis, and denies also its claim that Solidarity is an authentic workers movement. "For a protest to be a workers protest," he says, "even the most justified criticism of mistakes and errors must not go as far as to reject the revolutionary political party of the workers class and the internationalist alliance with the foremost division of the builders of a just society -- the Soviet people."

Krejci then deals with the implications of the events in Poland for the CPCZ's ideological work. In this context, he stresses the need to study the methods employed by the "class enemy" in Poland and to "unmask his ultimate goals"; to pursue a "clearly defined, class-based scientific party program"; to "observe Leninist principles of party structure and activity, to wage an energetic struggle against all kinds of manifestations of bureaucratism, voluntarism and technocratism and to actively develop socialist democracy"; to emphasize the "invaluable importance of adherence to the moral code of a builder of socialism, especially as regards leading officials" and to "constantly enhance the socialist way of life"; to develop "socialist relations" in all areas of social life (industry and agriculture); to "devote attention to the attempts to present the counterrevolutionary activity in the Polish People's Republic as an authentic workers movement"; to study the "legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism" as regards their teaching about the party's leading role and the role of trade unions in a socialist society; and to "devote special attention to the international implications of the events in Poland, not only from the viewpoint of unmasking the activity of the imperialist countries' hostile centers but also from the viewpoint of the problems ensuing from the events in the Polish People's Republic for the countries of the socialist community and the international communist and workers movement."

If the PZPR is to live up to its "responsibility before its own workers class and the international communist and workers movement," Krejci says in conclusion, it must be a party that "stands firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a party steeled in class struggle against the enemy and cleansed of all influences of opportunism and revisionism, a party whose clear and realistic policy expresses the loftiest goals and aspirations of the working man."

LUBOMIR STROUGAL ADDRESSES FOURTH CPCZ PLENUM

Strougal Address

LD310032 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Report on speech by Lubomir Strougal, CPCZ Central Committee member and CSSR federal premier, at Fourth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 28 October]

[Text] In the introduction Comrade Lubomir Strougal mentioned that the party's Central Committee Presidium as well as the federal government have several times discussed in detail the fulfillment of this year's tasks and have adopted concrete conclusions for preparing the plan for 1982 and drafting the 7th 5-Year Plan.

As far as this year is concerned, it is possible to note, he said, that plan fulfillment in industrial production for the three quarters has certain positive aspects. This is so, in particular, in the trend toward reducing costs in output and in the standard of profitability of production funds. The output of economic organizations, provided extra effort will be exerted in the last quarter, can reach the planned volume, which means that it would increase by almost Kcs23 billion in comparison with last year's figure. It is important above all that material investments are being successfully reduced in industry. It is possible to say that this result is already demonstrating the influence of those principles of the set of measures which support the striving for saving materials and which direct the enterprises toward production which is less costly as far as materials are concerned.

Positive aspects, however, do not so far represent any marked change in the overall trend, but rather they are indications of gradual progress toward a more intensive economy. That is why we must under no circumstances slacken in our orientation for a considerably higher degree of valuation of raw materials, production materials, fuel and power in production. On the contrary, it is particularly in this direction that we must intensify the pressure on the managing and organization activities of the ministries and production economic units and on the practical implementation of this intention in enterprises.

As far as external economic relations are concerned, everything seems to indicate that this year too we could reach the planned assets in the trade balance. One has to admit, however, that we can also reach these results, while increasing exports to a certain extent, by more strictly regulating imports.

In comparison with the plan there is nonfulfilment of tasks in industry, particularly the building industry. There still are shortcomings in investment construction. The structure of production is adapting particularly slowly to consumer demands, whether it is in investments, the domestic market or export. It is inexcusable that the timing of the plan in the first half year was considerably uneven in enterprises and factories. Lower specifications of the plan were not corrected by the appropriate organs, whether by planning commissions or branch ministries which witnessed the given situation and did not apply their responsibility. They simply did not act in time. What has not been done to date must be handled in the remaining period of this year. One therefore must not assume that we will meet the demands of the enterprises, production economic units and departments which, as a result of lagging behind in plan fulfillment, present suggestions for changes, ask for additional resources, reductions in exports, as well as additional imports. To yield to these demands would mean to abandon the principles of economic policy of the 16th congress and to breach the principles which we have proclaimed.

We also note considerable nonfulfillment of tasks in the building industry. Its insufficient readiness and particularly slow rebuilding of the structure of building capacities, as well as reduced deliveries of the necessary technical equipment cause nonfulfillment of the plan of investment construction. In this situation some building organizations demand extensive changes in the state plan. But there are no reasons for that.

We have been talking for several years about the need to reduce the number of unfinished projects under construction; for a long time we have been preparing the building industry and investors for less extensive building of new projects.

Comrade Lubomir Strougal further pointed to the shortfall [vypadek] of the volume of agricultural production, the extent of which is estimated to be over Kcs5 billion and which has a considerable influence on the creation of the national income. Among important problems signaled by the progress of fulfillment of this year's plan is the fact that in a large number of cases the structure of production is slowing adapting to the structure of needs. This fact is apparent both in the relations between the supplier and the consumer and in the deliveries for the domestic market and foreign trade. A part of realized production thus remains in warehouses. Its structure and usability at home or abroad must be thoroughly examined. It is understandable that the unplanned increase in stored supplies will be negatively reflected in the management of enterprises, as well as in the remuneration of leading workers, in this case also, it is not possible to relax the given rules.

In the next part of his address Comrade Lubomir Strougal said that the entire monetary incomes of the population will this year reach approximately 367 billion Kcs and, in comparison with the previous year, they will be 2.8 percent higher.

Financial reserves of the population, whether in savings or in cash, are in a profitable relation to annual planned outgoings. This question, however, must be judged also in relation to the situation on the internal market where we have been unsuccessful in meeting the demands, and the selection of goods in short supply is increasing. It is important that we continually observe the line of the overall and structural balance in meeting the needs of the population. Insufficient supplies weaken the interest in the results of work and reward for work is not finding adequate rewards in goods and services. The situation becomes even more complex when as a result of various rumors -- as is the case in the past few days after the recent alterations in the prices of gasoline and oil -- there is increased buying. Production organizations did not react with any great elasticity this year to the needs and demands of our internal trade and thus its requirements as to the structure are not met, in particular in the selection of goods in short supply. Thus there is surplus of certain kinds of furniture, but other kinds are missing, there is an accumulation in the stores of certain kinds of textiles while other kinds are in short supply. Trade organizations which, in many branches, have not estimated the correct development of the demands of the population are also to blame.

At the congress we set the aim of maintaining the living standard of the people; that is why it is the duty of the producers to more readily adapt to the structure of the needs of the internal trade and to improve supplies of a broad selection of goods and further to improve the quality of the services to the population, Comrade Lubomir Strougal said. He went on to say that in the remaining 2 months of the year we can and we must do a lot so that this year's tasks are fulfilled as well as possible.

This requires more firmness and consistency in everyday managerial and organizational work, unified course of actions on the part of economic management, and of party and trade union organizations. The attention on all levels of management should be concentrated upon dealing with problems in the most important areas of the national economy which are: the growth of exports and on achieving optimal value for our national work, adaption of production to the structure of utilization and maximum saving in the use of raw materials and in particular, of fuel and energy.

The shortcomings in the fulfillment of the plan for this year complicate our beginning of the year 1982 as well as our intentions for the next years of the 5-year plan. Work to change this situation according to the lines determined by the 16th party congress is far from being sufficient for satisfying our needs or using our potential. It is managerial activity which is responsible for the shortcomings and this is true about central bodies as well as about production units and enterprises, said Comrade Lubomir Strougal. He stressed that this situation should be evaluated at all levels and relevant conclusions are to be drawn including those concerning cadres.

Comrade Strougal recalled that current economic relations represent the most complicated, literally the key point of our activity and of our daily interest.

In the Sixth 5-Year Plan the development of balance of payment relations with socialist countries can be described as balanced but in the relations with non-socialist countries a deviation from the prepositions of the plan occurred. We have entered the Seventh 5-Year Plan in a situation in which the balance of payments reduces the amount of foreign credits available. In spite of the fact that our overall debt is in proportion to the economic strength of our country we cannot take any risk in the current complicated situation. Not only for economic and financial reasons but above all for political reasons we must strive for maximum possible equanimity of external relations with capitalist countries.

The main condition for enforcing our intentions as they are described in the directions for the Seventh 5-Year Plan is the substantial increase in the capability of our economy export. At the same time we must start with the implementation of an effective anti-import policy and further economic measures regarding imports. If we have enough export resources capable of competition we will achieve higher export prices and we will gain income which will pay for the necessary imports as well as for necessary interest and payments. The growth of the capability of the economy to export must be generally supported by investments, by technical developments, by increasingly greater involvement of our economy in international and in particular, in socialist division of work.

Our basic strategy is based on expansion of mutual trade and economic cooperation with the USSR and other CEMA countries. We are trying to achieve a mutual balance in trade with individual socialist countries. This leads to the fact that some previously planned imports of raw materials and clean fuels had to be reduced in view of our payment limitations in this 5-year term. Trade with the CEMA countries accounts for 67 percent of our trade and is to increase. This means that we are to continue to implement the cooperation agreements already signed, and at the same time seek new possibilities of cooperation in manufacturing branches.

Structural changes in the economy which we have to implement in the eighties can be based only on the realization of a program of cooperation and specialization with the USSR and other CEMA countries.

Strougal spoke further about securing a fuel and energy balance in the state. He recalled the highly unfavorable structure of fuel and energy sources for which a high proportion of solid fuels is typical. The consumption of primary sources of energy per head is high in Czechoslovakia. We consume too much energy, we do not utilize it sufficiently in the final products, in the created national income. The main reason for high demands for energy in the national economy is to be found in the unsatisfactory effectiveness of the Czechoslovak economy. The moves to cut production because of high demands for energy must be gradually incorporated in the medium-term plan too by gradually implementing a planned restructuring policy which utilizes further technical developments and the optimum processing of raw materials while at the same time reducing expenditures of fuel and energy.

This line which we will follow does not however solve for us the problems in the coming years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. It seems clear that this year we will not achieve the planned annual relative savings of fuel and energy which was to be two percent in relation to the national income. But in spite of this, it is necessary to achieve at least a three percent savings next year and this task is becoming more demanding and complicated by the fact that the cut must take place above all in oil and products made from oil.

There are conditions this year for the fulfillment of the plan for the extraction of brown coal. Certain leads in production extraction levels are to be maintained should we decide to compensate for the lowering of electrical production in hydroelectric power stations this year. In spite of the fact that in the North Bohemian brown coal mines the development of strip-mining has been improving over the last few years, the plan for strip-mining is not being fulfilled. The fact that great differences in the state of readiness of individual collieries for extraction still exist and in the most important open pit mines it is disproportionately low is very important.

The extraction of bituminous coal, in particular coking coal, is developing unfavorably this year, said Comrade Strougal and he recalled that because of exceptional circumstances the extraction plan for the Ostrava-Karvina coal mining area has been lowered by 325,000 tons and this has created serious problems in the production of coke and in supplies of bituminous coal for power stations and heating plants. In this situation we will have to regulate rationally the consumption of electricity and heating as early as November and December this year. We will cut consumption by two percent for large-scale consumers which is an amount which should not interfere with normal production. We also have to consider cuts in the non-production sphere, limit public lighting and organize savings in other areas. Great economizing measures along with other regulatory measures should ensure that this winter we will have necessary supplies of coal in stock for power stations, for large-scale as well as small-scale consumers and create conditions for the organized management of power throughout the winter.

As to fuel and light fuel oils as well as some other oil products, a very tense situation will occur next year. There is no other way out but to cut absolute consumption of these products by 12 to 13 percent as compared to 1980. This means a lowering of demands for transport and cuts in transport. It is necessary to transport goods as efficiently as possible and economize in the overall transport policy. Measures are also being prepared which should make the discipline in planning firmer and introduce strict order in the use of fuels. It is necessary to rationally utilize these fuels in areas where they cannot be readily substituted. We have to realise that expenses for the extracting of our own sources as well as the prices which we are paying for imported fuels and energy grow continuously and that for relatively smaller consumption we have to spend a continuously greater proportion of the national income, said Comrade Strougal.

The present speed of rationalisation and the standard of utilization of fuel and energy in the whole reproduction process simply are not sufficient for present demands. We need to reevaluate the rationalization programs of fuel and metals everywhere and implement them with on a priority basis within the given investment means. This means generally to increase efforts to ensure that our own sources of fuel should contribute as much as possible to the production of electricity and heating as we will have to substantially limit the consumption of liquid fuels in the production of energy.

Next year as well as in the future, everything depends upon the consistent fulfillment of rationalization programs for which necessary material conditions should be created by investors as well as suppliers.

Comrade Strougal devoted the next part of his speech to investment projects. He pointed out that in the interest of harmonizing relations between creation and consumption, we are trying to improve the use of available funds through an effective economic investment policy. The current situation shows that this year for the first time in many years the amount of investment in projects costing more than Kcs 20 million fell to a level of roughly Kcs 155 billion which represents a drop of Kcs 20 million as compared with last year.

Sound investment actions are required to make the investment program accurate and binding for a period longer than 1 year.

When the 5-year plan is being prepared, this area should receive particular attention: our real investment needs should be evaluated realistically as well as the possibilities for 1982 and determine their direction correctly.

Investment projects which strengthen the export capability of the economy, investments in the fuel-energy base and investments in the implementation of programs to save fuels, energy and metals should be given prominence. For next year, together with cutting the volume of investments we will limit the start of new construction. Therefore the demand for the reevaluation of given programs and projects not only in the production but also in nonproduction areas becomes more important.

Comrade Lubomir Strougal further informed the Central Committee that in relation to the described development the program of apartment construction in the Eleventh 5-Year Plan is also being reevaluated. It is a positive feature of the builders that they will hand over a much higher number of public facilities this year. It is necessary to continue in this direction as this helps to eliminate a serious shortcoming in our comprehensive apartment construction program. It is known that we shall not fulfill the plan for apartment construction this year. Also, next year we shall construct fewer apartments than 1/5 of the overall 5-year plan. The problem lies not only in the building industry but also in the fact that it is impossible to secure necessary sources of heating. This is a limiting factor which we must generally evaluate and from it draw a realistic plan for apartment construction in individual localities. Preference must be given to the main areas in the North Bohemian region, Prague, Bratislava and everywhere where the utilization of existing and newly built production funds requires a supply of new personnel.

Comrade Lubomir Strougal further recalled that in this agricultural year we shall not achieve the results we planned in grains, sugar beet, grain fodder, vegetables and fruit production. This year the grain harvest is 1.6 million tons lower than planned. In coming years we shall, along with increasing the production of grain and quality volume fodder, also adapt the growth of pig and poultry production to the realistic sources of solid fodder and preferentially develop the production of horned cattle where we have the greatest reserves and a natural fodder base.

This is the strategic line of agricultural development having a long-term validity. Its implementation should be accepted and all relevant economic, technical, organizational and political measures should be consistently carried out.

Currently we are facing, however, an important task: to be able to master the situation in animal production and a large drop in grain production and to secure a meat and meat products supply for the population. The situation in foreign relations does not allow us to export the total necessary amount of solid fodder. Looking at all factors we have decided, said Comrade Lubomir Strougal at the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Session, in the framework of the entire planned export for the national economy, to import 500,000 tons of grain fodder more than set forth in our plans.

Speaking about further tasks, he called for the mobilization of all additional reserves in animal as well as plant production, for minimizing the disproportionate losses suffered so far, for increasing nursing and veterinary care and for very economical organization in feeding animals.

In the food production industry it is necessary to utilize meat products and to eliminate superficial losses caused by animals losing weight during transport as well as during the slaughtering process. No small reserves exist also in the development of production possibilities of small producers, breeders and of private plot holders, many of whom are producing not only for themselves, for their own consumption, but also for the market.

Comrade Lubomir Strougal then spoke about the issue of higher managerial effectiveness. He pointed out the necessity for constantly evaluating how managers of individual organizations approach planned tasks, with what initiative they think out further courses of action to harmonize them with the intentions of the plan and with the intentions and directions of social and economic development approved by the 16th party congress.

The ability and efficiency of individual managerial workers should be evaluated according to the results achieved in the first year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The party's economic policy must be implemented at all levels and developed with initiative.

What should be particularly stressed is the full implementation of cost accountancy, of the principles of material involvement, of differentiation in payment.

Hand in hand with removing shortcomings in these areas is the matter of strengthening work discipline which is a serious problem, far from fulfilling the demands for a socialist attitude toward work.

In central bodies it is necessary to deal more actively with some issues, the solution of which should create a more efficient investment for speeding up technical progress and for the development of socialist economic integration. All measures which were accepted in the area of planning, financing and managing and which will be further developed, should have one aim: to create conditions for increasing economic effectiveness and productivity and for increasing managerial effectiveness.

The work of the people must be consistently judged by results, by whose initiative they help to implement the basic aims of the economic policy set at the 16th party congress for the first half of the eighties. In this connection Comrade Lubomir Strougal singled out the significance of the initiative of the people, with whose active participation we can achieve the necessary results. The economic program is not being understood as a single act but as a set of systematic measures which will be continually deepened as an inseparable part of the development of the entire system of management.

In conclusion, Comrade Lubomir Strougal said that the tasks which await us next year and in the remaining years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan so far have no parallel in their extent and complexity and that they pose a big test for all of us. By implementing them with a strong and unified will and resolution we must do all we can to pass this test successfully.

STROUGAL RECEIVES SOVIET MACHINE MINISTER

LD291830 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, received in Hrzan Palace in Prague today Viktor Korotov, minister of power machine building of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Strougal highly praised the help of the Soviet Union in the development of the Czechoslovak nuclear power industry and stressed that only due to this we could gradually master the increasingly more demanding production of reactors and other equipment for the production of electric energy and gradually fulfill the program directed toward expanding our own energy production base.

At the meeting the two representatives discussed concrete steps regarding topical and prospective tasks and cooperation in the production of energy producing equipment and in the building of large-scale nuclear power stations in Czechoslovakia.

FEDERAL PREMIER RECEIVES ITALY'S ANDREOTTI

LD291536 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Giulio Andreotti, president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, at Hrzan Palace in Prague. He expressed Czechoslovakia's interest in developing of all-round relations with the Italian Republic. In this context, he pointed to the results that have been achieved and the possibilities that exist in this direction, above all in the further deepening of economic and trade cooperation. Both sides emphasized that it is necessary to seek ways to intensify the traditional contacts in the cultural sphere.

During the meeting the two representatives also exchanged views on the current foreign-political situation, on solving questions connected with controlling international tension, and on developing peaceful cooperation between countries with different social systems.

SSR'S SALGOVIC RECEIVES CHURCH DIGNITARIES

AU281413 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Oct 81 p 2

[CTK report: "Support for Our Fatherland's Development; Reception of Representatives of Slovak Churches"]

[Text] Bratislava, 22 Oct (CTK) -- At Bratislava Castle on Thursday, Chairman of the Slovak National Council Viliam Salgovic Received Representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, led by doctor of theology Jozef Feranc, and of the Association of Catholic Clergymen Pacem In Terris of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR], led by its chairman canon doctor of theology Gejza Navratil.

In a discussion, Chairman of the Slovak National Council Viliam Salgovic underscored the activity of those clergymen, especially of the Association of the Catholic Clergymen Pacem In Terris SSR, who are evidencing their positive attitude toward the socialist state and their sincere patriotism by unequivocal support for the program of construction of the leading force of our society -- the CPCZ.

At the meeting, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, the dignitaries [ordinari] of the Roman Catholic Church and the members of the Slovak Committee of the Association of Catholic Clergymen Pacem In Terris assured state representatives that even in the future they will comprehensively help to assert the ideas of peace and the program of construction of the CSSR working people.

HUSAK GREETES BENDJEDID ON ALGERIAN HOLIDAY

LD310046 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, has sent Chadli Bendjedid, general secretary of the National Liberation Front and president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, a telegram of congratulations on the occasion of the national day of his country -- the 27th anniversary of the Algerian revolution.

The telegram expresses conviction that the traditional friendly relations and mutual cooperation between the two countries will continue to develop and deepen in all the spheres of economic, political and cultural life for the benefit of the people of Czechoslovakia and of Algeria, in the interest of peace and progress in the world.

PRESIDENT HUSAK RECEIVES THREE NEW AMBASSADORS

LD310720 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] President Gustav Husak received at Prague Castle today the first ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to take up in Czechoslovakia, Emanuel Olorunda Kolade. In their conversation they pointed out the long tradition of Czechoslovak-Nigerian relations and voiced an interest in their further allround development which would contribute to a strengthening of peaceful cooperation and security in the world.

Gustav Husak also had his first audience today with the ambassador of the United Mexican States in Czechoslovakia, Austrian Salvat Rodriguez. The two men noted that relations between Mexico and Czechoslovakia are developing successfully and that nothing stands in the way of their further extension in all fields. This is also assisted by the fact that the two states actively participate in a policy of relaxation of tension and in the solution of important questions of the current international situation they have identical or close stands.

Letters of credence were also presented to president Husak by the ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Czechoslovakia, Cornel (?Pantaru). They paid a tribute in their conversation to the development of mutual cooperation which is continuing in the spirit of the deliberations between the party and state delegations of Romania and Czechoslovakia in May this year.

SVAZARM CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING FOR AIR RAIDS

AU281422 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Oct 81 p 7

["SCH"-signed report: "Important Responsibilities"]

[Text] Prague (SCH) -- One of the SVAZARM's [Union for Cooperation with the Army] most important tasks is to prepare the population for civil defense in case of a war conflict. At yesterday's press conference, the representatives of this organization stated that the course of this year's training has been satisfactory thus far. During the training, more than 1 million citizens employed in the cities gained theoretical and practical knowledge in the technically specialized action "The Behavior and Activity of Employees of Projects During an Air Raid Alarm." Compared with the previous years, there is an increasing emphasis on the practical part of the training. This year, specifically, it was the handling of the protective mask. In 1982, the lecturers and trainers of SVAZARM's civil defense section will concentrate on training 800,000 inhabitants of cities and villages of agricultural enterprises in the technically specialized action "The Behavior and Activity During an Air Raid Alarm."

FOJTÍK PRESENTS AWARD TO PARTY OFFICIAL

LD310032 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Jan Fojtik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today presented the Order of Labor to Karel Hradecky, deputy head of a department of the CPCZ Central Committee, on the occasion of his 60th birthday. The high state distinction has been awarded to him by the president of the republic on a recommendation of the CPCZ Central Committee in recognition of many years of selfless work for the party and his active participation in the construction of a socialist society. The ceremony was attended by Otto Čmouk, head of a department of the CPCZ Central Committee.

BRIEFS

SVAZARM MEMBERSHIP FIGURES -- The CSSR paramilitary organization SVAZARM [Union for Cooperation with the Army] has at present 900,000 members in 10,444 primary organizations. Forty-one percent of its members are under 20 years of age. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Oct 81 p 2 AU]

AGREEMENT WITH USSR -- Moscow, 29 Oct (CTK) -- Czechoslovak and Soviet foreign trade corporations Saromet and Promsryoimport signed a contract there today for delivery of 392,000 metric tonnes of seamless and welded tubes worth 169 million roubles, mostly for oil and gas pipelines under construction in the Soviet Union. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1818 GMT 29 Oct 81 LD]

JARUZELSKI THANKS HONECKER FOR CONGRATULATIONS

AU301305 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Oct 81 p 1

[Text] Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, Berlin

Dear Comrade Erich Honecker. I cordially thank you for the congratulations and wishes on my election as PZPR Central Committee first secretary.

In this difficult time for our country we will consolidate the ranks of the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism by implementing the program of the extraordinary PZPR Congress and will resist the elements of counterrevolution to defend socialism in Poland.

We gratefully accept your assurance of the full solidarity and the support of our party in solving these tasks.

We assure you that we will exert every effort to develop the bonds of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples on the reliable basis of socialist internationalism, in close unity with the Soviet Union and all fraternal socialist countries.

I take this opportunity and wish you, highly esteemed Comrade Honecker, the Central Committee, all communists and working people of the GDR well-being and further successes in implementing the program of the 10th SED Congress.

[Signed] Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, Warsaw, October 1981

HARRY TISCH HEADS DELEGATION TO NORWAY

Meets Prime Minister Willoch

LD310038 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1922 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Oslo, 30 Oct (ADN correspondent) -- A delegation of the FDGB Central Executive headed by its chairman, Harry Tisch, arrived on Friday for a 3-day official visit in Norway at the invitation of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation [LO]. The delegation is having talks with LO Chairman Tor Halvorsen and other members of the LO leadership on cooperation between the trade unions of the two countries.

In the afternoon Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee politburo and member of the GDR State Council, was received for an exchange of views by Norwegian Prime Minister Kare Willoch at his official residence. Harry Tisch conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were cordially reciprocated by the Norwegian head of government.

In their open and businesslike talk the two politicians discussed matters concerning the international situation and relations between the GDR and Norway. They expressed their conviction that the further development of their bilateral cooperation is in the interest of both states and peoples and also serves peace and detente.

Kare Willoch and Harry Tisch agreed that regardless of different assessments of certain aspects of the tense international situation the cessation of the arms race, especially in the sphere of nuclear weapons, the prevention of war and the consolidation of international security are the most important tasks of our time.

Kare Willoch voiced his expectation that the forthcoming negotiations between the USSR and the United States will result in arms limitation and disarmament on the principle of equal security. He expressed his country's great interest in contacts with the GDR. There is a desire to extend the steadily developed political and economic relations.

Harry Tisch explained the GDR's policy for the consolidation and preservation of peace and affirmed the GDR's readiness to continue and intensify the political dialogue as a contribution to the normalization of the international atmosphere.

GDR ambassador to Norway, Werner Krause was present at the meeting with Kare Willoch.

In the morning Harry Tisch had an extensive exchange of views with head of the Norwegian Labor Party [DNA] Gro Harlem Brundtland on international political questions and on relations between the SED and the DNA. On this occasion too it was unanimously noted that the arms race must be ended and that genuine steps toward disarmament be taken. During the talk, which was also attended by DNA Secretary General Ivar Leveras, Harry Tisch gave an account of the successful implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress, especially in economic and social policy. Gro Harlem Brundtland explained the policy of her party, dealing in particular with problems of the Norwegian workers movement. The usefulness of the continuation of political dialogue between the two parties was stressed.

Official talks began also with the leaderships of the Norwegian trade unions on Friday.

Meets Labor Leader 31 Oct

LD010200 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Oslo, 31 Oct (ADN) -- The relations between trade unions in the GDR and Norway and both organizations' work for peace, detente and disarmament were the main topics of discussion at talks held Saturday in Oslo by the delegation of the National Executive of the GDR Trade Union Federation, FDGB. During the discussion, Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive and member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, and Tor Halvorsen chairman of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation [LO] stressed the great usefulness of well-developed cooperation between trade unions of different political orientation, especially in times of acute international tension. They agreed to further develop mutual connections.

The delegations briefed each other on current problems of trade union work in their countries. Harry Tisch spoke of the high priority given to the preparation for the forthcoming trade union elections and of the GDR trade unions' active support for safeguarding peace. At the same time, he referred to the high degree of intraunion democracy which found expression in the FDGB elections and to the broad cooperation and corresponsibility of the workers' mass organizations in planning and controlling all important social processes. Tor Halvorsen gave an account of LO's activities its support for the preservation of peace. The talks between the two delegations will end on Sunday.

Talks End 1 Nov

LD011640 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1520 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Oslo 1 Nov (ADN) -- The official talks between delegations of the National Executive of the GDR Trade Union Federation, FDGB, and the leaders of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, LO, ended on Sunday in Oslo.

The delegations were led by the chairman of the FDGB National Executive, Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the chairman of LO, Tor Halvorsen.

At the end of the 3-day talks it was agreed that relations between the two organizations should be further deepened and the exchange of views continued in more varied ways. At the close of the talks, which were held in an open and businesslike atmosphere, a joint communique was issued in which it is said that the cooperation between trade unions of countries with different political systems is fruitful and necessary, particularly in view of the tense international situation.

The representatives of the trade union movements of the GDR and Norway briefed each other on the activities of their organizations as the representatives of the interests of the workers. They discussed a broad spectrum of problems concerning the world situation and the position of the international trade union movement. Agreement or near agreement was reached on vital basic questions touching on the interests of workers.

The trade unions of Norway and the GDR share the concern of the people's of Europe about the arms race and the increase of tensions as well as their desire for negotiations on disarmament, security and peace, the joint communique states. Peace and disarmament are today the most important tasks and the essential foundations for the social security of the workers and their families. The delegations expressed the hope that the forthcoming Fourth European Trade Union Conference will contribute to securing peace on the European continent and to the development of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation in the European trade union movement. They speak in favor of the regular continuation of the European trade union conferences and call upon them to devote even greater attention to matters vital to the workers.

The chairman of the FDGB National Executive, Harry Tisch, issued an invitation to Tor Halvorsen to visit the GDR, which was accepted with thanks.

Norwegian CP Leaders

LD011628 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Excerpt] Oslo, 1 Nov (ADN) -- SED Central Committee Politburo member Harry Tisch had a meeting on Sunday in Oslo with members of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Norway. During the talk, which took place in a fraternal and comradely atmosphere, questions of the current international political situation and of relations between the SED and the Norwegian Communist Party were discussed.

NEUMANN RECEIVES SFRY'S JANEZ ZEMLJARIC

LD292238 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1823 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 29 Oct (ADN) -- Alfred Neumann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on Thursday received for a friendly talk the president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Janez Zemljarić, now in the GDR at the head of a government delegation from the SFRY. During the talk both sides paid tribute to the positive development of the relations between the GDR and the SFRY.

Alfred Neumann emphasized that together with the USSR, the other states of the socialist community and all forces interested in peace, the GDR actively works for arms limitation and disarmament according to the principle of equality and equal security. The two sides agreed that under the present conditions a resolute struggle for peace is the most urgent task.

Janez Zemljarić was also received by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, Gerhard Schuerer (?for a talk on) deepening economic relations.

JUNKER HOLDS TALKS WITH ROMANIAN COUNTERPART

AU312009 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 31 Oct (AGERPRES) -- While in the German Democratic Republic, participating in the proceedings of the 52nd CMEA Standing Commission for Collaboration in Constructions, Dumitru Popa, Romanian minister of industrial construction, met with Wolfgang Junker, minister of construction of the German Democratic Republic. Aspects of the development of the bilateral collaboration in constructions were discussed.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRG ON LEGAL AID RESUMED

AU291506 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On 27 October 1981 the negotiations between the delegations of the GDR and the FRG on the settlement of legal aid by agreement were resumed in the capital of the GDR, Berlin. The delegations were headed by Hans Ranke, state secretary in the GDR Ministry of Justice, and Guenther Erkel, state secretary in the FRG Ministry of Justice.

NIER TALKS WITH SPANISH COUNTERPART IN MADRID

LD300306 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2155 GMT 29 Oct 81

[Text] Madrid, 29 Oct (ADN) -- Political consultations on questions of bilateral relations as well as current international problems took place between Kurt Nier and Juan Duran-Loriga Rodriganez, GDR deputy foreign minister and Spanish director-general of the Department of Foreign Policy for Europe and Atlantic Affairs, respectively, in Madrid on Wednesday and Thursday.

The two sides paid tribute to the level of relations between the two states. They expressed their conviction that development and deepening of these relations, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, are in the interest of the two states and peoples, and that they promote peace and detente. The two sides agreed that, notwithstanding the different assessment of some aspects of the tense international situation, everything would have to be done to avoid the danger of a war and to consolidate international security. In this, they underlined, great importance is attached to political dialogue as well as to increased efforts at arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security.

HARRY TISCH RECEIVES ANGOLAN POLITBURO MEMBER

AU301300 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- "On Wednesday Harry Tisch, FDGB National Executive Committee chairman and SED Central Committee Politburo member, received for a friendly talk in Berlin Pasqual Luvualu, general secretary of the National Union of Angolan Working People (UNTA) and Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)-Labor Party Politburo member." Harry Tisch reported on the numerous initiatives of the GDR working people, and Pasqual Luvualu briefed Tisch on his country's successes in building socialism. Both sides stressed the responsibility of the trade unions and all progressive forces for securing peace and the necessity of stopping the policy of armament and confrontation pursued by imperialism. "The partners in the talk most resolutely condemned the brutal policy of the South African apartheid regime."

FRG CITIZEN DETAINED FOR BORDER VIOLATION

AU291113 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On 25 October FRG Citizen Juergen Wessel violated the GDR state border in the Grevesmuehlen area. The man, who was under the influence of alcohol, was detained. The details of the border violation are being examined by the responsible GDR organs.

REPORTAGE ON 30 OCTOBER SEJM SESSION IN WARSAW

Jaruzelski Speech

LD301620 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at 30 October Sejm session in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Citizen speaker. May it please the house. The sociopolitical situation of the country is deteriorating further. A wave of tension, conflicts and strikes is once again sweeping the country. Economic difficulties are growing. The impatience of the community with the bad market supplies is increasing.

Accepting the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers in February of last year, I stated that the negative phenomena were too advanced for it to be possible to halt immediately and reverse the further deterioration of the economic situation, and that the current year would be critical and fraught with drastic shortages. These words were not dictated by excessive caution but by the logic of economic processes, by a realistic assessment of the possibilities of a counteraction that could be fully felt.

I also recall that the directions and methods for overcoming the economic crisis, formulated in the government program, have been approved unanimously by the house. The government is making every effort to implement this program and to apply these measures to increasingly more difficult conditions. The guiding thought behind everything that we have done was to reverse the negative trends, to counteract the mounting crisis, and to alleviate the consequences of the economic difficulties on the life and work of our citizens.

A question comes to mind, however: Why, despite these activities, is the economic situation not improving, but quite the opposite, deteriorating? The fundamental cause lies in the fact that the tense sociopolitical situation continues, and that the economy has been turned into a plane for struggle against the authorities. The disorganization of production processes is increasing. The losses caused by strikes, tension, and by the lowering of work discipline, are constantly growing. They apply to goods which are of fundamental significance for supplies for the population, agriculture and export.

One cannot help recalling at this point the truth which has been repeated many times now, namely that the costs of strikes are borne by the whole community, and that a further deterioration of living conditions is a price that has to be paid for them. By presenting to the esteemed house a program for overcoming the crisis, the government stressed that peace, possibilities for personnel to work normally, and active, responsible cooperation of all forces of the community were needed for its implementation.

Today, it should be said that these conditions are not being fulfilled and is the main reason why results are not commensurate with undertakings. A comprehensive assessment for the economic situation and plans for next year will be presented by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej, chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers. This will allow me to dwell only on several selected currently acute problems.

May it please the house. The most important task is still the supply of basic food-stuffs for the community. The situation is extremely difficult: particularly acute shortages of meat and meat products occur; there is also a shortage of vegetable fats and dairy products, despite a higher level of supplies than last year. The collapse of slaughter animal procurement has been reflected in meat supplies. Many voivodships which traditionally had a surplus of animals for slaughter are now unable to satisfy the ration requirements of their own inhabitants.

We are trying to alleviate these growing shortages with considerable imports from capitalist countries. However, due to lack of foreign currency, possibilities are limited. Hence, the decision of the Soviet leadership to supply Poland urgently with 30,000 tons of meat and 30,000 tons of salt water fish this year is of great significance. It will ease shortages looming before the Christmas period.

The only way to achieve a lasting improvement in the supply of meat and meat products is to increase the national production and procurement of animals for slaughter. Having in mind improved conditions, the procurement price for pigs was increased on 1 October. The supply of goods to the rural market has been urgently increased, while additional quantities of coal have been earmarked for farmers, equaling the quantity extracted on Saturday, 24 October.

Supervision over the sale of coal will be increased in such way that it will go first to the suppliers of animals for slaughter. On 1 November the bank rate for savings gained from the sale of animals will be increased. Also on the same day there will be the temporary introduction, until the end of this year, of the principle of the sale of production means for agriculture and certain industrial consumer goods being linked to the supply of animals for slaughter. We are treating this as an extraordinary solution. We are aware of the negative aspects. However, in view of the progressing break-up of economic links between the town and village, this temporary introduction is necessary in order to ensure increased meat procurement and the leveling off of the growing backlog of rations.

Referring to the announcement made in my previous Sejm speech I would like to report that the continuity in the sale of flour and other grain products has been restored, and the rationing of groats has been abolished. A good crop of sugar beet and the efficiently organized sugar campaign has made it possible to increase sugar rations. Essential supplies of sugar have been ensured for industry and trades and stocks are being replenished. However, acute shortages of many basic commodities, foodstuffs as well as industrial goods, dictate the need for an extension of rationing. According to experience to date, and critical remarks and conclusions, changes in the rationing system have been prepared which aim at its simplification, increased efficiency and uniformity on the national scale.

In response to the demands of the community and trade unions, the policy of the allocation of meat, poultry and butter to individual voivodships will be augmented on 1 November with the introduction of the principle of uniform ration levels throughout the country. The level will only be determined by the scale of national procurement and by interventionist import. Also, changes have been made in the system of allocation of basic foodstuffs not subject to rationing. From November the allocation of fats for individual voivodships will depend only on the size of the population, and the allocation of dairy products on the size of the urban population. Slight departures from these principles have been made only for the benefit of Katowice, Lodz and Warsaw agglomerations.

All these measures are of emergency character. While we are counting on these measures bringing positive results, we must not deceive ourselves that they will solve market problems. Moreover, the results of those steps will diminish as disproportions increase between the size of incomes and the value of market supplies. The growing amount of money having no support is destroying our economic fabric and is attacking our social fabric. Money, which is increasingly ailing, fails to perform its functions. Links between work supplies and the possibility of satisfying needs are vanishing. The motivating function of wages is being weakened, black market and speculation are increasing, inflationary pressure is growing, and differences in incomes of various social groups are growing, all of which hits hardest at the poorer groups.

How can we emerge from this situation? The main trend must be increases in production and goods supply. However, we are unable to achieve in a short time such a growth as would restore the balance on the market. Hence, for everyone who realistically and without prejudice seeks ways to improve the present situation, there is no doubt that without many other undertakings, and particularly without a complex reform of retail prices and without slowing down excessive income growth, we will not be able to solve these problems.

The government has prepared, and presented to trade unions for consultation, draft changes in retail prices for food, fuel, energy, and the system of compensation.

In line with the agreements adopted, within 4 to 6 weeks the stances ought to be agreed. However, in view of the planned compensation for changes in the prices of these goods, they will not have a great effect on the general market equilibrium. The government also intends, in accordance with the proposals of the Central Council of the Polish Economic Society, to introduce for a transitional period a stabilizing tax on the prices of certain industrial goods which are not essential articles. The retail prices of gasoline and other oil products and prices of some alcoholic beverages will be raised.

In order to cure the market situation it is necessary to halt pay increases and other incomes which are not justified by work results. We have to deal constantly with pressures and attempts to force salary increases and an introduction of additional privileges for various groups of employees. This is why the government is interested in entering into negotiations with trade unions as soon as possible on the issue of sorting out several hundred local, industrial and works agreements concerning these issues. In our understanding of social justice there is room for differentiation of incomes as long as there are grounds for this in the composition and results of work of various members of the community.

On the other hand, we cannot tolerate native millionaires who have created fortunes not through work but through exploitation, through growing fat at someone else's expense, or through shady dealings and schemes. The state authorities and financial bodies, in accordance with the law, will counteract more consistently the creation of incomes of this sort and take them over for the state.

I turn to the whole community with the request to understand and to approach seriously all mentioned undertakings, above all the necessary reform of retail prices. Without this it is impossible to normalize socioeconomic life in our country. The government alone cannot conduct the struggle for an improvement of the market situation. However, it is its duty to create conditions for increasing production and for a better distribution of goods. Such chances have been created in many areas. This applies in particular to the whole cooperative sector, to small-scale production and to crafts. They have increasingly better conditions for increasing production and supplies of many articles while acting in a self-governing way and using profitable economic solutions. They can play a great role right now when initiative is particularly important, as well as the utilization of reserves and the elimination of waste of agricultural articles and food, which is still considerable.

We expect decisive improvements in the work of the baking industry, the dairy industry and other cooperative sectors of the foodstuffs industry. Both cooperative and state food producing industries must today function particularly efficiently and effectively. This is of national importance, no less. The food trade network should work much better. It is, in its entirety, in the hands of cooperatives. Control checks being carried out by state and public organs point to the fact that speculation is rife, that numerous sought-after goods are being hidden, that higher prices are being paid than the official prices, that prices are not being fixed in accordance with current relevant regulations, that sales are being made on a preferential basis [sprzedaz protekcyjna] and that goods outside the official register are being introduced into trade. We have declared battle on speculation in all its forms. Thanks to the resolution passed by the esteemed house, the effectiveness of this battle has grown. We are, however, aware that without a general normalization of the market, without restoration of its functioning by healthy principles, a complete elimination of this negative phenomenon will not be possible. All steps being undertaken in this respect are directed, as a matter of fact, toward combating the results, rather than the causes, of speculation. Therefore, they can only bring about partial effects. It is, however, necessary to carry on with this battle -- things would have been incomparably worse without it. But it is not just a matter for the government. It is, above all, a task for the local authorities, cooperative and workers' self-management bodies.

It is they who have the greatest potential for effectively opposing organizational inertia, carelessness and relaxation of morals. The government -- having the expansion of social control over supplies and market functioning in mind -- deems it expedient to create, as a matter of urgency, social commissions for market control at the national, voivodship and basic levels and to empower them extensively to control trade, stocks and implementation of the rationing system as well as prices for market articles. Councillors, trade union representatives and consumer' federation representatives should sit on these commissions.

May it please the house. The market breakdown affects, above all, people whose incomes are lowest -- old-age pensioners and retired people, and families with many children. It is their existence that is threatened the most. That is why the government, without waiting for agreed systematic solutions, long-term solutions, intends -- taking the growing cost of living into account -- to increase, in the first quarter of next year, the minimum wage, old-age pensions and retirement pay.

At the same time, beginning 1 January 1982, the second stage of increasing family benefits will begin to be implemented. The government has also prepared draft changes in the system of old-age and retirement pensions. Following consultations and agreement with trade unions, we will put them up for the esteemed house's approval. Directions of these changes are in accordance with the intentions of the resolutions of the party's ninth extraordinary congress.

They constitute yet another proof that the agreements from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie are being implemented. They provide, above, all, for a complete solution of the matter of the so-called old pensions scheme. They also provide for introduction, on an annual basis, of increasing old-age and retirement pensions, in proportion to wage rises in the socialist economy.

The new principles calculating them should ensure that the gap between maximal and minimal benefits will be bridged and that a worker's duration of service will be taken into account when he retires, apart from his wage level.

We wish to ensure help for the socially weakest groups, particularly people who are incapacitated, single mothers and families with many children, in the coming winter. Relevant guidelines in this matter have been produced. In view of the importance of the problem, apart from actions which it is the duty of the state administration to carry out at all levels and of institutions called upon to do so, it is desirable that all other forms of social help for people who require such help be developed.

Citizen deputies, permit me again to return to the issue of coal. The latest calculations show that extraction in the current year will be a further 5-6 million tons lower compared to forecasts made 3 months ago.

The government is therefore compelled constantly to revise decisions regarding distribution of this fuel. We have given absolute priority to heating and lighting apartments, hospitals, schools and kindergartens, appropriating coal deliveries and electric power supplies to produce foodstuffs. All other areas have already been affected and can expect serious shortfalls to continue. Unfortunately output will decline still further as a result. The government has embarked on implementation of a whole number of projects to improve miners' living and working conditions. They have been given an additional coupon [karta zaopatrzenia] for certain foodstuffs, within the framework of the rationing system. We expect that these decisions will be met with understanding for they benefit the people who work hardest and it is on their work that so much depends. At the same time we are convinced that actions which benefit the mining industry will result in increased coal extraction. The increased extraction last Saturday can serve as a signal that confirms these expectations. Miners who turn up for voluntary work on Saturdays deserve particular appreciation.

The economy feels the effects of the steadily worsening payments situation in an ever more painful way. There is a shortage of hard currency even for the most essential purchases.

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This is being felt particularly acutely by industry for which imports of supply materials from capitalist countries declined by as much as 40 percent. This was caused, among other things, by increased imports of agricultural and food articles which currently amount to 1/2 of all supplies from the West.

We are searching for various solutions to improve the payments situation. Talks are underway with Western creditors on the matter of refinancing our commitments and gaining more favorable conditions. We are also examining the possibilities and conditions of utilizing cooperation with international financial institutions with this aim in mind. All steps being taken here can, at the most, ease -- but cannot substantially change -- the existing state of affairs. They cannot substantially increase our potential for a fast expansion of imports from capitalist countries.

In this situation, the stable -- and, as far as certain ranges of goods are concerned, increased -- supplies of raw materials and materials from the Soviet Union, are particularly important for our economy, as is the invariably positive attitude of the Soviet leadership toward our requests for help.

This year's import of Soviet goods to Poland, as I have said, is greater than our imports from all capitalist countries taken together. During the last three quarters we have managed, through our exports, to pay for only 2/3 of the Soviet supplies. Against this background, one cannot but reflect bitterly that the Soviet Union's invaluable aid is being accompanied by instigation and the fueling of an anti-Soviet campaign, by the dissemination of perfidious and deliberately false information about Polish-Soviet economic cooperation.

It is simply difficult to find words of condemnation for the authors of this campaign which harms our national interests.

Increased exports -- this is the only way in which import restrictions, throttling the economy, can be relaxed. There is no other way that we could break loose from our indebtedness in the West or that we could balance our turnover with the CEMA member countries. It is not possible, in the long run, to live on credit. This is what we have been told bluntly by our Eastern and Western partners alike.

Hence, irrespective of urgent measures, the government has prepared within the framework of the economic reform a number of solutions which will increase producers' interest in exports. Work has also begun on a long-term program to promote exports through changes in the structure of production and in the development of our economy.

Citizen deputies, we have entered the decisive stage in preparing the economic reform. A whole package of draft laws, which will determine the new tenets for the functioning of the economy, are now being discussed. The participation in this work of factory teams dealing with reform matters is particularly valuable. We have also passed these draft laws on to trade unions and the social organizations concerned requesting their views.

The draft laws connected with the reform will be sent to the speaker within the next 3 weeks. While progressing with this work, we remain aware of the limitations and obstacles being created by the worsening of our economy. The shortage of fuels and power, the lack of hard currency, the growing supply difficulties -- all these hamper implementation of the principle enterprise independence and workers' self-management. The fate of the reform depends to a considerable degree on mastering negative processes, on creating at least minimal conditions affecting the effectiveness of the economic mechanisms. For example, it would have been irresponsible to introduce the reform in a cement factory where we could not ensure the necessary supplies of coal and electricity. One could cite other examples.

Thus, in advocating the quickest possible implementation of a profound reform, we must assess the situation in realistic terms and firmly observe objective economic laws. We are not allowed to fall short of the social expectations.

That is why we cannot create the illusion that as of 1 January 1982 there will be a violent transformation of the country's economic conditions, that the reform mechanisms will start operating immediately and that shop shelves will automatically be filled with goods. This is our objective, but for a period of time along the way we will have to cope with substantial difficulties, with the shortage of raw and other materials, with the shortage of energy and fuels, and with the shortage of many market goods.

These matters have been dealt with recently by the Commission for Reform Affairs. Taking into consideration the proposals submitted by the commission, the government is preparing a complex system of solutions for the so-called transitional period. Generally speaking, the objective is to erect a kind of bridge between the present and the moment when the whole economy will be able to function according to the tenets of the reform. This does not mean a brake on the pace of implementing the reform; it only means the adaptation of the method for executing the reform to the real economic conditions. The modification of the system of solutions for the transition period will be submitted to the esteemed house together with the package of bills on basic laws related to the reform. The introduction of new management precepts must be accompanied by profound changes in social consciousness, in understanding economic mechanisms, and in undertaking tasks and duties.

The management system of the 1970's is the object of justified criticism regarding its exorbitant centralism, its choking of initiatives and its lack of responsibility. We reject such a model for the economy and the state. Nevertheless, the habit of acting according to instructions, guidelines, orders and recommendations is still very powerful both in enterprises and in local organizations. A trend toward independence in resolving local issues often meets a barrier of helplessness, passivity and lack of initiative.

Demands are being submitted that demand a standardization from above of the procedure for handling those matters that can best be resolved on the spot by the local community or the local authorities. The economic reform will prove itself in practice if the decision-making powers of self-managements are matched by the initiative, responsibility and ability of the workers' collectives and the leading personnel to solve emerging problems independently. However, the decentralization of management means the weakening of the role of central, strategic planning. Consequently the state organs will be more passive regarding economic processes and phenomena.

It is precisely the socialist state pursuing economic reform that will, from the social point of view, protect the weakest groups of the population and prevent the spontaneous operation of the market laws that make the rich richer and the poor poorer. However, to do this a state must be powerful, capable of effectively influencing the socio-economic processes. Thus, the consolidation of the socialist state serves the development of self-management. The government's programmatic line is consistently subordinate to these demands. The economic reform creates great hopes. However, the basic prerequisite for its success is law and order, and social and production discipline. Without these, the expectations may not be fulfilled.

Citizen deputies, our country has reached a critical point. The economy is dying. The state structures are being destroyed from within. The bonds, which have taken years to build, are shaking. This is the case with the ties between the town and the countryside. Lawlessness, violation of the law and strike madness are becoming a way of life. Continuous tension, endless demands and the incitement of hatred of the authorities, of socialism and of natural allies -- all this mutilates not only the material but also the mental fiber of the nation. Destitution visits Polish families ever more frequently as does a feeling of helplessness and a fear of tomorrow. We cannot live like this any longer. Appeals to supreme national reasons continue to yield no results. We have to deal not only with monetary inflation, but also with the inflationary use of words. How much longer is it possible to multiply appeals and calls, persuasions and warnings?

How many more times should one declare a readiness for agreement, dialogue and constructive cooperation? This is generally being destroyed against a wall of ill will, obstinacy and antigovernment hysteria. The extremist forces of Solidarity are creating an actual counterforce [kontr-wladze] with dictatorial designs. They impose their will, their ambitions and plans, and abuse the trust of large masses of their membership who do not realize the macabre game into which they are being drawn.

We know that among the members and also among some activists of NSZZ Solidarity, a sense of patriotic responsibility for, and an understanding of the people's state prevails. It is not them, but groups of adventurists and gamblers who are sharing the union's policy. In Poland, Solidarity operates unhindered, has thousands of followers and millions of members. It operates in a majority of work enterprises; no one disturbs their union activity, and no one is able to quote even one concrete example of the authorities making the statute activity of the union difficult or impossible.

Solidarity as a trade union has its permanent place in the social life of the country. It is demonstrated by practice that there is no tension where local links of Solidarity constructively participate in solving concrete problems of the working people. One can and should cooperate in this way for the benefit of the working class and the socialist state.

The government does not expect praise and laurels from any of the existing trade unions. Down-to-earth criticism is the basis of every development but struggle with one's own state, undermining its cohesion, paralyzing the economy -- this does not fit into the concept of a trade union. It is a sinister, ominous activity.

For the nation, its own state is the highest good. The authorities -- in keeping with the spirit and letter of the law in force -- cannot agree to the dissemination of antistate publications which incite social tensions, by calling for the abolition of the political order and the government, and strike at our alliances, on whose permanence and credibility our independent being as a state and the durability of our borders depend. Every government in the world would agree.

Anti-Soviet excesses and aggressive anti-Soviet propaganda put a fire beneath our native home. It is objectively anti-Polish, antinational activity. In the name of the elementary interests of the nation, it is not permissible to tolerate such activity.

May it please the house. Strikes are still in progress: strike readiness, protest actions exist in many regions of the country. Billions of zlotys have squandered irrevocably and great quantities of goods needed by the community. Serious damage has been done to the foreign trade contracts. We have lost the successive hard currency, so very necessary for buying medicines, food and equipment, indispensable for the economy. Even the defense industry has been set on; namely the factor of the state's security, Poland's alliance obligations.

He, however, who sows wind, may harvest a storm. Several days ago a warning strike took place. It took place in this period of approaching winter. We live in a fairly harsh and capricious climate. Thus we may not neglect anything. We must also count on the worst winter conditions. Every hour of strikes in the mines means unheated nurseries and kindergartens. Every hour of strikes in industry means new torment for those who have (?already) worked their whole lives for Poland.

Let the organizers of the strikes themselves tell the nation, especially the mothers of small children, the veterans of struggle and labor, venerable citizens: what gives them the authority to weaken the economy, to incite tensions, precisely now, in the face of the approaching winter?

Part of the local conflicts were born against a background of real, extremely irritating shortages in supplies. The government realizes this. It understands the mood of the community.

One could solve this problem in a casual manner [pol od reki], taking allocations of goods from those who are not yet on strike. However, this road leads nowhere. There is not, and never will be, any other path to an improvement of the community's well-being than work. There is no other truth.

The strike atmosphere is being spread in Poland according to all the rules of psychological warfare. Hope is inspired by the fact that an ever greater number of Poles understands these mechanisms. More frequently voices objecting against the dictatorial actions of groups within Solidarity itself are heard.

People are no longer yielding to the strike psychosis involuntarily. The spokesmen of confrontation within Solidarity frequently use a language of threats. Manifestations of psychological pressure and terrorism against those who have the courage to think differently are also noted. There are voices calling for settling accounts with party members, with communists. Let the reply of the government sound clear and plain: We warn against the language of threats. It is only one step from such threats to crime. History knows such examples. It is not people's power that is pushing Poland to the brink of disaster. We want to prevent it with all our strength. We have given obvious proof of this to the world. I believe that there will be enough wisdom in our nation, which has experienced so many trials and tribulations, to avert a tragedy with joint efforts.

Every day I receive many resolutions edited by Solidarity extremists. They join groundless, often outright grotesque accusations addressed to the authorities. But I also receive at least the same number of appeals and requests for the government to bring calm in the country, to put a stop to the fratricidal war of nations. People who are distressed, utterly exhausted, especially from the older generation, write to me and ask when this will end at last, when the authorities will say: Enough!

I consider it my duty to answer this question. I turned from this tribune a month ago to Solidarity requesting it to adopt a clear stance on issues fundamental to the nation and the socialist state. We have not heard a reply. The hand which has once again been stretched out for accord has been ignored. The reply was to exacerbate the political fight. A new slogan of the so-called action strike has been, inter alia, put forward publicly at present. Do those who have put forward this slogan really realize the nature and consequences of such strike? Do they want to have the consequences of such a step on their consciences?

May it please the house. Because of the existing dangerous situation I have passed to the Sejm Presidium a government draft law on extraordinary means of action in the interest of the protection of the citizens and the state. At the same time I know that at today's session the convent of seniors will present to the esteemed house a draft resolution that resolutely raises the issue of abandoning strike actions immediately and also of putting a stop to any activities that violate public order. If this Sejm resolution is not respected I shall request as a matter of urgency that the wheels of legislative procedure be set in motion to get the government draft law underway. The interests of the socialist state and the peaceful and safe existence of our nation must and will be protected.

May it please the house. Just as there are no people who do not make mistakes, so it is with our activities: The activities of the government, the administration -- they are not free from mistakes or shortcomings. We are ready always to admit this and to correct them as soon as we can. We are open to criticism but it does not mean that the government will allow itself to be treated like dirt. We are aware that the task of governing the state is impossible without utilization of all intellectual and moral reserves at our nation's disposal.

In its essence, the socialist renewal in Poland is to reflect and confirm the universal aspirations throughout society. The Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress, in its program resolution, came out in favor of working out a new formula for the National Unity Front, one which constructs a national accord front that would ensure both the participation and greater activeness of millions of patriots from all walks of life in socialist Poland.

On the basis of this congress directive, confirmed by the Fourth Central Committee Plenum, at the initiative of the PZPR, preliminary drafts have been compiled. Discussions and consultations have been entered into with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, with leading community representatives in our society. A complete definition of the front's formula, its programmatic and organizational aspects, is an extraordinarily important and urgent task, in view of the dangerous development of the situation.

I therefore propose that a council of national accord [rada porozumienia narodowego] be formed. It would begin the task of examining and agreeing on the front's program, its role, structure and principles of activity in political-social life as soon as possible. I invite the ZSL and SD to participate in this council. I invite trade unions, social, scientific and artistic organizations.

I will ask citizens who enjoy high authority in society to take part in the work of the council. I am counting on this initiative to receive support from the leadership of the church.

We can save our country and lead it out of the crisis by joint action, by joint responsibility of all those who proceed from the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, those who hold dear the cause of peace, security and prosperous future of the Polish nation.

The government has also prepared a draft law on the procedure of social consultations. We wish to enrich our parliamentary system by adding a procedure whereby public opinion is constantly consulted in matters important for the country. Touching on the announcement made at the Sejm session on 4 September, I wish to outline a more concrete intention of creating a social consultation council attached to the Government Presidium. The Council will have the task of presenting, at its own initiative or at the request of the government, opinions, suggestions and proposals for solutions to social and economic problems.

We expect, in particular, that the council would make its views known regarding key questions such as socioeconomic policy and implementing the economic reform, overcoming the crisis, directions of activity of scientific, educational and national culture institutions, and development of socialist self-management and social order.

The social consultation council will have at its disposal the possibilities for initiating public opinion polls, submitting reports from experts, for studying the effects of the implementation of solutions it has proposed and for familiarizing public opinion with them.

The social consultations council will have the very important task of suggesting which key national problems should be consulted with the entire public.

Representatives of science, social and economic activists and representatives of the creative circles will be appointed to the social consultative council. We also firmly maintain the proposal, submitted earlier, to set up a permanent mixed commission composed of representatives of the government and all trade unions.

The party, (?showing) its leading role, finds it expedient to broaden the social base for governing the state, to ensure the appropriate participation -- both in the government and the leading cadre of state administration -- of representatives of the political parties and nonparty persons, including lay Catholics. We also see the need to boldly exploit highly qualified, dynamic young people in the state and economic administration.

Work is also coming to an end on the draft bill on exploiting scientific advisers by the organs of both state and regional administration. In the very near future we shall send this proposal to the esteemed house. The bill will instruct state activists at all levels to avail themselves of the achievement of science, of consulting with experts on decisions. It will broaden the sphere of the direct influence of the Polish intelligentsia on the everyday, practical decisions of the organs of authority.

We wish to invite to joint governing the broadest possible representation of scholars, engineers, economists, and humanists, who have always served the nation self-sacrificingly with mind, heart and boldness of thought. We address this appeal with particular respect to Polish teachers, the educators of the young generation. We appreciate their labor. The government will try to do everything to bring the concrete solutions closer to the expectations connected with the teachers' charter.

I have mentioned here only a few examples, which enrich our system of democracy. There are more proposals. They come from various circles and from various citizens. We are analyzing them all carefully. We are ready to consider each suggestion that tries to meet the socialist aspirations of the nation. In Poland there is and will be a democratic system. This arises from the assumptions of our ideology, of socialism, the driving force of which was, is and will be the party.

Nobody in Poland, including the government, has a monopoly on wisdom and infallibility, on ideas and proposals. These can be born only from collective labor and from a common, united effort by all Poles.

However, democracy does not consist of succumbing to the moods of the day. Often, after the passage of a mere several decades, the name of democrats is attributed to those who dispersed parliament with swords and insulted the nation. Socialist democracy links the richness of social thought with the requirements of the supreme interest of the state. The Government of the Polish People's Republic desires to serve such a democracy, and such it will defend.

May it please the house. The PZPR Central Committee entrusted to me, several days ago, the function of the first secretary of the Central Committee. I accepted it in the knowledge that the situation in which the country finds itself today imposes on me the obligation to accept it. At the same time the Central Committee Plenum expressed its opinion on my filling the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers. I express willingness to undertake these difficult duties, making the ultimate decision dependent on the stance of the Supreme Chamber. I think that the combination of the highest government and party functions, dictated by the particular requirements of the moment, will facilitate the achievement of the necessary effective action.

For these same reasons I express willingness to retain the portfolio of minister of national defense. If the esteemed house recognizes the expediency of such solutions, I shall have the honor of presenting organizational solutions within the government, arising from the present needs.

I intend to entrust coordination of the government's work in the sphere of economic matters to Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski, who is the chairman of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers. I intend to entrust coordination of the government's work in the sphere of union and sociopolitical affairs to Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who chairs the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs. Strategic planning and the long-term intentions of the government will be directed by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej, the chairman of the Planning Commission. I intend to entrust the day-to-day leadership of the Ministry of National Defense to the chief of General Staff of the Polish Army, Gen Florian Siwicki, while I will retain the post of minister.

Esteemed house. Poland needs not words but deeds. But there are words in our language that will never stop shining. One such word is "homeland"; another is "state." The time has come for everyone to understand well -- deep in his mind and heart -- the weight of these words. Poland today needs the wisdom of its nation. It summons us to action. History launches an hour of severe trial. We want to emerge from it; we can emerge from it; we must emerge from it, return to the broad path of development, catch up with our time, reinstate peace in homes and in the homeland -- a sense of security and ordinary work. [applause] This depends on us alone.

May it please the house! Now I should like to submit proposals for changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers:

I ask for the recall of Stanislaw Mach from the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, in connection with his request and coinciding now with planned regrouping of tasks within the Government Presidium.

Citizen Lt Gen Mieczyslaw Grudzien, from the post of minister for veteran affairs. The range of activities of this office and, at the same time, the objective of reducing the composition of the Council of Ministers, indicate the need to place this post not at the level of minister but of a central organ of state administration. A relevant draft amending the bill will be submitted shortly;

Citizen Ryszard Karski, from the post of minister of foreign trade, at his request to be allocated different work;

Citizen Zygmunt Lakomiec, from the post of minister of domestic trade and services. With his consent, he is to be entrusted with the post of first deputy minister in this ministry;

Citizen Eugeniusz Szyr, from the post of minister of materials management. He is to receive a pension, and we intend to take advantage of his rich experience by using him as a social adviser.

Citizen Mieczyslaw Zajfryd, from the post of minister of transportation with the intention of leaving him for the time being at the disposal of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

With the conviction that the esteemed house will approve these proposals, I should like to express from this place, to Citizen Stanislaw Mach, words of sincere thanks for his active and conscientious work in the Council of Ministers and in the Government Presidium.

I cordially thank Citizen Eugeniusz Szyr for his tireless work in numerous leading posts, and for outstanding achievements in work for our socialist state.

I should also like to thank Citizen Gen Mieczyslaw Grudzien for achievements as head of the office for veterans affairs, for honest efforts during all the years of his participation in the Council of Ministers, not renouncing his further use in his present sector of activities.

I thank Citizen Ryszard Karski, Citizen Zygmunt Lakomiec, Citizen Mieczyslaw Zajfryd, for their responsible work in the government, for active management of ministries entrusted to them, including in the recent period which has been extremely difficult for them.

May it please the house! At the same time I submit the appointment of Citizen Edward Kowalczyk to the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. This proposal will enrich the coalition nature of our government and underlines the importance and possibilities of the Democratic Party in our state system. This will also determine the political status of Citizen Edward Kolwalczyk in the Council of Ministers and the nature of tasks entrusted to him.

I also submit the appointments of:

Citizen Jan Antosik to the post of minister of materials management;

Citizen Janus Kaminski to the post of minister of transportation;

Citizen Zenon Komender to the post of minister of domestic trade and services;

Citizen Tadeusz Nestorowicz, to the post of minister of foreign trade;

Citizen Tadeusz Opolski, to the post of minister of construction and construction materials industry.

Now, if you will allow me, I will present to the esteemed house, the personal data of the candidates:

Citizen Edward Kowalczyk: Born 1924 in Warsaw into a worker family. He is a professor, doctor of technical sciences. During the occupation, he was active in the ranks of the home army. As platoon commander, he fought in the Warsaw uprising, and was subsequently taken prisoner.

During the early postwar years, he continued his studies -- already begun in the resistance -- concluding them at the Communications Department of Warsaw Polytechnic. Since 1951 he has been a research worker at this school. In 1967 he was appointed to organize a branch of the polytechnic in Plock, as its head and plenipotentiary of the rector. During the years 1969-80 he was minister of communications, and subsequently director of the Institute of Communications.

At the beginning of 1981 he was appointed deputy chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control. He possesses a scientific and publicist achievement in the field of telecommunications, and of the organization of science. He works socially in the Union of Polish Teachers, and in scientific-technological organizations and associations.

Since 1973 he has been a member of the Democratic Party Central Committee. In March 1981 he was elected chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee.

Citizen Jan Antosik: Born 1938, in the Skierniewice Voivodship, into a peasant family. He graduated from the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. He is a doctor of economics. He began professional work in 1958 in the Marcin Kasprzak radio works as a senior economist. In 1960 he transferred to the association of the motor industry, where he worked as a senior inspector in the Department of Supplies, and subsequently in the Department of Materials Economy. Transferred in 1964 to the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers, he has been active in successive posts: from senior adviser and head of the department for problems of management to deputy director and, from 1972, director of the group for material economy. He is a valued specialist in the field of optimum exploitation of materials on the scale of industrial enterprises, and the entire economy.

Citizen Janusz Kaminski: He was born in 1933 in Siedlce, in a working intelligentsia family. He graduated from the Warsaw Polytechnic; he is an electrical engineer. For 26 years he worked under the Ministry of Transportation, passing through successive official levels. In the years 1955-59 he worked in the electric engine depot of the PKP [Polish State Railways] at Warszawa-Grochow, holding first the post of senior mechanic and then that of head of the department. Subsequently, until 1961, he was the deputy head of the (?traction) department at Warszawa-Ochota [a railway station]. From 1961 until 1969 he was employed in the traction administration of the Warsaw DOKP [State Railways Regional Directorate], at the end of this period holding the post of head of the administration. During the years 1969-1973 he worked in the Warsaw DOKP, where he was chief director from 1970. In December 1973 he was appointed to the post of undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Transportation. He is a member of the PZPR.

Citizen Zenon Komender: He was born in 1923 in Czestochowa, in a workers' family. He studied at the Wroclaw Polytechnic. During the occupation he was a soldier of the home army, taking part in many combat actions. In the years 1953-56 he worked in socialized building enterprises at the Gdansk coast. From 1956 until 1962 he was the head of the voivodship Pax [a lay Catholic organization] organization in Katowice and Gdansk. Beginning in 1962 he has held various leading posts in the amalgamated economic groups company in Warsaw, among others those of head of the economic division and administrator of this company. He has been a member of the Presidium of the Pax society since 1965 and a deputy chairman of the board of Pax since 1981. He has journalistic achievements behind him in the socioeconomic, political and historical area. He won the Wlodzimierz Pietrzak prize twice: in 1968 and 1977. He is a Sejm deputy, non-party member.

Citizen Tadeusz Nestorowicz: He was born in 1928 in Biala-Podlaska Voivodship in a family of working intelligentsia. He graduated from the Foreign Trade Department of the Higher School of Economics in Szczecin. He worked in the custom houses in Szczecin and Lodz in the years 1948-51. He next moved to the foreign trade agency "Ciech" where he took up the post of departmental manager, and in 1956 he moved to the Ministry of Foreign Trade. In the following years he was, among other things, a commercial attache at the Polish Embassies in Budapest and Belgrade. Since 1973 he has been an under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and since August 1981 first deputy minister. He is a member of the PZPR.

Citizen Tadeusz Opolski: He was born in 1926 in Lwow in a family of working intelligentsia. He graduated from the Higher School of Economics in Szczecin. He began working professionally in 1941 in a shoe factory in Chelmek. Since 1948 he has been active in investment and construction services. Until 1952 he worked as chief accountant in Szczecin's main office of reconstruction enterprises. In 1952 he moved to the head office of local investment projects in Wroclaw where he held the post of departmental manager and later director. From 1971 until 1979 he worked in the Wroclaw construction association as head economist and lately a managing director. In May 1979 he was transferred to the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry. He was a director of the General Department. Now he is director of the Working Conditions Department. He is a non-party member.

Madej Presents Report

LD302235 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1418 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Speech by Zbigniew Madej, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, to the Sejm session in Warsaw, presenting the "government's report on the implementation of the 1981 national socioeconomic plan and state budget and on the preliminary features of the 1982 national socioeconomic plan and state budget, paying particular attention to the situation in coal mining and the power industry" -- live]

[Text] Citizen speaker, may it please the house. It is my intention to describe the government's work on the preparation of the 1982 economic plan. To begin with, however, I would like to recall how the government has been fulfilling its duty of informing the Sejm about the country's economic situation. In July 1981, the government submitted to the Sejm a report on the state of the national economy and, on that basis, submitted a proposal concerning the need for an adjustment in the 1981 socioeconomic plan. The resolution adopted by the Sejm on 31 July 1981 authorized the government to effect these changes and at the same time made it incumbent upon the government to inform the Sejm periodically about the country's current economic situation and about the action being taken. Carrying out this obligation, the chairman of the Council of Ministers delivered on 24 September 1981 an assessment of the development of the country's economic situation. In addition, government representatives supplied information to the Sejm deputies during Sejm commission proceedings. Following a government directive, the Main Statistical Office issues to the Sejm special quarterly reports on the economic situation. Today the chairman of the Council of Ministers has again produced an assessment of the country's present economic situation and a package of proposals containing remedies which the government will put into effect as soon as possible. I would thus like to express the hope that the citizen deputies will be inclined to find that the information forthcoming from the government is sufficiently frequent and exhaustive.

I would like now to pass on to the main theme of my speech. As a result of last year's initiative by the deputies, later contained in the Sejm regulations, we government representatives have to follow a new procedure in our approach to the national plan, as from 1982. The innovation lies in the fact that we have a duty to submit relatively early to the Sejm the government's intentions for the following year, that is, already at the preparation stage of the plan's main lines. This accords with numerous demands concerning the need for the citizen deputies' participation in the shaping of future guidelines from their conception and for an early presentation of these documents to the public at large.

The preliminary assumptions concerning the draft of the 1982 central socioeconomic plan submitted to Sejm deputies constitute possibly the first -- in the history of planning in Poland -- official planning document presented in the form of optional variants. This document contains three probable trends in economic development in 1982: A variant based on fears, a variant based on hopes and a variant representing a middle course between the other two and which could be called a realistic midway variant.

The first variant is in a way a form of continuation in 1982 of all that is happening in Poland at present. The maintenance of such a trend would result in a further decline in production, a deterioration in living conditions, ruination for the national economy and ultimately its collapse. This is why we have called this the variant of fear, and maybe it should be called the variant of doom. Only a year ago such a variant would have seemed improbable; today we must present it to the Sejm because there exists within the national economy a certain trend toward inertia, which leads precisely in that direction, and there are also social forces which favor this development of events. We hope that the variant based on fears will not gain the approval of the majority of society, and that this majority will actively oppose the downward trend in the national economy. We are presenting this prognosis to the house in the conviction that this will have a trigger effect releasing social forces which will prevent the variant of doom from becoming a reality, and that this will be a prognosis which will not come true.

The second variant we have called the variant of hope: It envisages a revival of the national economy; that is, an increase in production, a growth in national income and an improvement in living conditions. This variant is based on the existing potential capabilities in our national economy; that is, on the available mining capacities of the raw materials industries and on the processing potential of the manufacturing industry. The most important factor, however, is the development of the sociopolitical situation in the country. In the final analysis this will determine the nation's production performance and the people's attitude toward work. It may thus be said that in the part of it in which the variant of hope depends on the technical side of production it is a variant of certainly, but in its part which is conditioned by social moods this variant continues to amount to an expectation.

The third variant, that of the middle course, lies between the variant of fears and the variant of hope. It envisages a halting of the downward trend in economic development as well as the gathering and organization of resources in order to prepare the ground for a gradual revival of the national economy which, according to this prognosis, could become apparent in the second half of 1982.

These three variants of economic projection for 1982 do not derive from the tendency of the planners toward a symmetrical pattern. It is not merely a case of the form of presentation. The premises for this concept have much deeper roots. First, there are objective premises: We are at the moment in a period of serious social conflict. The situation is exceptionally confused, and there is considerable uncertainty as to the further development of economic and political trends; so it is difficult to make an unambiguous statement on the shape of the future, even the near future. Second, the presentation of the problem in its variants is accompanied by the intention to indicate to the nation the possibilities of authentic options among three trends of development, and by the intention to create opportunities for enterprising people, people with initiative, for workers' self-management bodies, territorial self-management bodies and management of industrial enterprises. Third, what is at stake is that in the process of planning the future the people's emotional attitude should be turned to advantage and that favorable and active attitudes be created with regard to the optimistic prognosis which nevertheless is realistic and whose fulfillment depends primarily on the citizens' psychological attitude.

May it please the house. It has been stressed on many occasions that coal is at present the motive power of Poland's national economy. Coal extraction in the first quarter of the current year amounted to 41.3 million tons. In the second quarter it dropped to 40 million tons, and this level has been maintained in the third quarter. If this trend continues into 1982 coal extraction in 1982 will amount to only 155 million tons. The decline in coal extraction to the level of 155 million tons would mean a further decrease in industrial output by approximately 10 percent and a decline in national income amounting to approximately 8 percent.

Occasionally a peculiar counterargument arises to the effect that there are countries which extract much less coal than Poland does and yet which do not experience economic collapse as a result. This, of course, is true but the Polish national economy has been based for decades on coal which provides us with 70 percent of our energy. Similarly, we have nothing to replace coal in our exports. A decline in coal extraction of the order of more than 35 million tons in 2 years, as well as a decline in our exports to capitalist countries of the order of 18 million tons which at present prices represents more than \$1 billion, must constitute an immense blow to the national economy. A further decline in coal extraction contains the threat of a disintegration of the national economy and could have more serious consequences than a natural disaster because it would have long-term effects. So we must do everything in our power to prevent this pessimistic prognosis from coming true.

The variant of hope envisages the extraction of 175 million tons. There are real opportunities for achieving this figure because the technical equipment of coal mines and the people's qualifications provide grounds for envisaging an output of approximately 630,000 tons in 24 hours during working days and approximately 240,000-250,000 tons on free Saturdays on the principle of fully voluntary work. That is as much as was in fact being extracted on average on Saturdays in the period between February and April 1981. With 175 million tons of coal the value of the output of the whole industry in Poland could increase in comparison with 1981 by approximately 5 percent and the national income would grow by approximately 2 percent; exports could be increased by nearly 10 percent. These would be tangible indications of the national economy's return to the road of growth and of a chance for extricating the country from the crisis. The stake amounting to 20 million tons of coal, because this is the actual difference between the variant of fears and the variant of hope, is consequently a stake in a game which could decide the fate of the whole national economy and finding the way out of the crisis.

What measures are being taken in order to ensure victory in this game? Already during this year employment in the mining industry has increased by approximately 12,000. A further increase in the employment of graduates from vocational schools is envisaged and so is the enrollment of manpower from various voivodships and the enrollment of draftees or serving soldiers.

The government has drawn up and submitted to the Sejm a bill on pensions for miners and their families, which envisages the reduction of pensionable age to 50 years. The government has also issued a decree which allows pensioners to continue work without losing their pensions, and which exempts incomes earned on work-free days from the leveling tax [podatek wyrównawczy]. A production fund has been created and earmarked for additional wages for miners. The mining industry has at its disposal a currency fund amounting to 10 percent of the total value of exported coal. Justifiable priority is given to the allocation of foodstuffs for miners.

The resolution of coal difficulties must be tackled on many fronts, including that of saving. The government has formulated a program for rationalizing the use of fuels and power, which embraces both emergency and long-term undertakings. The implementation of this program is submitted at present to strict control and assessment in order to ensure the accomplishment of all tasks. This program provides for the modernization of more than 600 power industry appliances, which should yield annual savings amounting to 550,000-600,000 tons of coal.

It is anticipated that the norms of natural wastage of coal in transport will be reduced by 1-2 percent. It is also anticipated that the sale of firewood from state forests will be increased 1-1.5 million cubic meters. It is assessed that all economy measures should yield savings of approximately 3 million tons of pit coal in 1982.

Brown coal is an important factor in our fuel-energy balance sheet. Approximately 20 percent of the total amount of electricity produced to date has been based on the use of brown coal. The extracting capacity of this coal by present mines amounts to approximately 36 million tons annually. Next year, in 1982, brown coal extraction will be increased by a further 2 million tons as a result of the commissioning of the Belchatow Basin.

If it may please the house, the second important sector of our economy on which the country's fate depends is agriculture. Here, too, we present several variants in our assessment of the development of the situation in 1982.

In the variant of fear we anticipate unfavorable weather conditions and thus we predict that cereal production could be lower than in 1981 and that animal production should be higher because of good crops in the current year. This variant assesses the value of total agricultural production at approximately 2600 billion.

On the other hand, the optimistic variant, which reflects the hopes for better weather conditions and rise in production means earmarked for agriculture, predicts a total growth of agricultural production amounting to approximately 2630 billion, including 22-23 million tons of cereals harvested that is, 2-3 million tons more than this year and as a matter of course better than that anticipated in the apprehensive variant. We must unite all our endeavors in order to make our way toward the variant of hope. Today, however, we cannot affirm that we will succeed in achieving it. (?Although) in the current year we had good crops and good yields, the purchases of cereals and animals for slaughter are making very poor progress.

For the country's consumption targets we need approximately 6 million tons of grain, and to date we have procured approximately 1.3 million tons while the total predicted procurement for this financial year is 4.2 million tons of grain.

And so if this trend were to be maintained in the fourth quarter of the current year and next, then in this sector also the economy will approach the impassable barrier, beyond which consequences already begin to appear which resemble the effects of a natural disaster. There will not be enough grain for bread, and there is simply no hard currency for additional imports.

A similarly dangerous situation may occur in the procurement of animals. What does the (?government) intend to do in order to prevent this happening? Three directions of action emerge here: First, the tentative linkage applied only in the fall period in goods exchanged between town and rural areas. The details of this operation will be presented in the next few days. Secondly, the further attuning of industrial output to the needs of agriculture which in 1982 ought to ensure the increase in deliveries of fertilizers, plant protection means, as well as machines and spare parts. And third, the stimulating of a flow of people to work in agriculture, including the further satiation of agricultural production with highly qualified cadres.

Citizen deputies, the third sphere which I would like to discuss in the framework of the economic progress for 1982 is foreign trade.

Three characteristic phenomena occur here. First, the decline in the export capabilities of our economy; second, the exceptionally burdensome, the exceptional burden of the indebtedness to the capitalist countries, which is being postponed in the payment balance-sheet of Poland; and third, the recent appearance of indebtedness in respect to the socialist countries.

What is envisaged in this sphere for 1982? In the variant of fears, which is based on a pessimistic prognosis of coal extraction and consequently on the further decline in production, export to the capitalist countries is envisaged at a level of 19 billion hard-currency zloty, that is, less than in the present year. Imports from this area are envisaged at the level of 15 billion hard-currency zloty, that is considerably, 27 percent less than in 1981. For it is necessary to reckon with the fact that the difficulties in obtaining credits for import may be considerably greater than at present. The drop in imports will, of course, have a negative influence on the supply to industry of foreign raw and other materials, which will increase still further negative trends in the national economy.

In the variant of hopes exports to the capitalist countries have been assumed at a level of 23 billion hard-currency zloty; that is, 19 percent more than in the present year. This corresponds to the growth, assumed in this variant, of coal extraction, of industrial and agricultural output. We envisage the size of the imports from the capitalist countries in this variant at a level of 22 billion hard-currency zloty. This is based on the assumption that we will nevertheless succeed in achieving new credits, serving to set our economy in motion.

In the exchange with the socialist countries we do not envisage particularly great differences between the individual variants, since those trade relations are based on more stable, long-lasting foundations. In our most vital interest lies the further deepening of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, with the two remaining neighbors, and with other socialist countries.

What is planned to be done in order to approach in foreign trade the sums contained in the more optimistic variant, the variant of hope? Two directions for action appear here. The first, outside the country, embraces above all those actions aimed at more intimate economic cooperation with the socialist countries. We will continue to try to obtain some of the imports from the socialist countries on a credit basis. In addition to this, we envisage the broadening of cooperative links with these countries in order to exploit our productive opportunities to the full. Meanwhile, in contacts with the capitalist countries we are trying primarily to achieve a further respite from the payment of our debt for 1982. The second trend, based on internal action, aims primarily at activating export production. Everything will also be done to awaken the innovative ideas dormant in enterprises and the scientific base toward reducing the imported materials which so far have been imported.

The fourth area in which I would like to present the planned course for 1982 is the domestic market. Well, if the market trends which are manifest at the moment were to be maintained next year, the financial incomes of the population would increase by approximately 2380 billion, and the supplies to the market would have to be reduced by approximately 2140-150 billion. That would cause a complete breakdown of the market and necessitate the introduction of a general rationing system with a very low level of allocation of individual goods. Thus the variant of fear means in this case an even greater burden in shopping and a crucial deterioration in the quality of life. A contradiction exists between whatever justified aspirations and needs of the population there are and the actual economic situation. Social factors have spoken on behalf of and continue to speak for a growth in wages, incomes, and development of social benefits. But during last year this growth took place in isolation from, and even in contradiction to, the course taken by productive processes and against the backdrop of a general fall in the social productivity of work. That can only lead to a disorganization of the market; the wage rises become illusory, while the economic motivation for a growth in production is destroyed. On top of this there is one more unusually negative factor" The economic link between the town and rural areas is broken, procurement halts, and there is a decline in the role of money in exchange with private farmers.

These tendencies can and must be opposed. The more optimistic variant -- the variant of hope -- envisages a halved flow of money onto the market and greater supplies of goods; it is also demanded that the reform of retail prices for basic foodstuffs and for fuel and energy will be carried out. Among producers there would then emerge a [word indistinct] growth in the production of these goods and the prerequisites for more sensible management. Among consumers there would be opportunities to make purchases on a more balanced market.

Obviously, compensation will be paid to part of society. But those who earn more must, unfortunately, bear some of the costs of this operation. The second important segment of the market, taking in mainly industrial articles, will primarily depend on the extent to which production increases, stimulated by the new economic mechanism which will come into force at the beginning of 1982. We can expect that next year there will be a greater growth in production, especially in confectionary, pharmaceutical goods, soap, articles for hygiene, linen, and clothes and footwear. Further improvement should occur in small-scale production, which has already been functioning in accordance with new principles since the middle of this year, and is demonstrating signs of improvements.

In the next year, we have to rely on the independent enterprises aiming at price increases wherever the market situation permits them to do so. Obviously, that corresponds to the economic laws in accordance with which they will function, but it may hit purchasers hard, especially those who earn less.

Together with this, pressures for increased wages will appear, exerted by employees on the directors and self-managements. Against this background, the need will emerge to shape a new role for the state, which should arbitrate between the employee and the directors of factories, and between the employees and the self-managements, as well as between the producers and consumers.

Particular care will have to be extended to people with the lowest incomes, and to the sphere of collective consumption -- namely health, culture, science, which may be underestimated by individual enterprises.

On the other hand, the state will have to regulate the income of those whose earnings are higher, applying the appropriate taxation. This function, too, should be fulfilled by taxes; among others the stabilization tax recently proposed by the Main Council of the Polish Economic Society.

The active role of the state requires a strong, balanced budget. In the current year the budget deficit will amount to about 2200 billion. Next year it may grow even to 500 billion. So, how can we finance health, science and education? To increase the deficit means to increase the inflationary processes in the country. This road leads nowhere. The only way out is the growth of good management and the growth of production. There is no other way out.

May it please the house. It is envisaged that the draft plan for 1982 will be composed of two parts: Namely, the forecast-informational part, and the constituent part. The forecast-informational part will contain first, forecasts of socioeconomic phenomena which in their essence do not lend themselves to formation by means of planning instruments. This concerns demographic processes -- processes on the international markets. And second, forecasts of economic phenomena which, in the conditions of next year, will be shaped in an indirect way by means of economic instruments. This will concern such fields as the variety of production and the scope of production in the individual enterprises.

The forecast part will constitute the informational basis for establishing the central plan, as well as one of the informational bases for working out the plan in the enterprises. On the other hand, the constituent part of the plan will contain the general economic decisions of the central plan, as well as operational programs concerning the priority social and economic goals. The general economic decisions of the plan will have the character of concrete quotas, formulated in the form of limits, bans and directives. [Passage indistinct] expenditure on housing [words indistinct] basic raw and other materials, the size of import and export, and the bans or directives [words indistinct].

The [words indistinct] of the plan will be the operational programs worked out for the high priority fields, for such areas and for food, health protection [words indistinct], footwear and products for children [words indistinct] deliveries for the defense needs of the country. The intention of the operational programs will be the direct steering, from the level of the planning commission and the ministries, of the production of selected products to ensure the [words indistinct], the hard-currency means. The implementation of these tasks will have an obligatory character. In many cases this concerns the so-called protected (?areas).

At the central level, we are conducting work on the draft plan in three phases. In the (?first) phase, which is already passing, the preliminary assumptions for the draft central socioeconomic plan were thoroughly worked out. These materials have been conveyed to the citizen deputies. These same materials have also been sent to over [words indistinct] ministries; they have also been published in the (?press). In the first phase [words indistinct], economic mechanisms essential for [words indistinct], and the guidelines for working out the draft [words indistinct] voivodships.

In the second phase, the ministries and the banks are working out [words indistinct] of the draft plan. This work will go on until the middle of November [words indistinct].

In the last phase the working out will take the place of the central annual plan, and after being considered by the Council of Ministers, it will be submitted to the Sejm in [word indistinct] November.

[Words indistinct] prepared for an independent start. The first criterion will be the working out of the draft plan for the enterprises for 1982. The most important thing is to define the economic conditions in which the enterprises will act. Such work is being carried out in the framework of the Commission for Economic Reform; many draft legal acts have been prepared.

Since it is feared that these drafts will not succeed in going through all the legal and [word indistinct] procedure by the end of the current year, a collective document regulating the basic financial, wage and supply issues which will constitute the basis for the enterprises' activity until the (?bill) in question appears, is also being prepared.

We are thus entering a period of heated work on the plan for 1982, a plan based on new principles, different from those previously arising, from the economic reform. For these reasons, and also by reason of the general economic situation of the country, this work will be exceptionally difficult. We are counting on the help of the citizen deputies in all phases of work on the plan. We are convinced that the correctly worked out plan for next year will become an essential factor in stabilizing the socioeconomic situation in our country.

To sum up: I wish to emphasize that Poland's economic situation in 1982 will depend on how much now, in the autumn, in the process of general national discussion on the assumptions for the plan for next year, we manage to distance ourselves from the variant of fears toward the variant of hopes.

Neither the government nor any individual can decree this, for this is a typical act of general social choice. Everything speaks for the fact that we should locate our hopes closer to the variant of hope. We can try to transform even our weaknesses into a chance for success. For what is the inflationary gap, which causes us so much trouble, if not a deferred demand which, for independent enterprises producing market goods, creates a chance for an outlet for many, many years. The lack of agricultural machines and spare parts opens a market outlet for many factories which today still face the dilemma: What should they produce, and in what way can they earn enough next year for wages for their employees?

Even the short supply of coal, fodder and foreign currency resources creates a real need for saving, and as a result of this, the need for technological and organizational innovations which is an unlimited field of action for construction bureaus, industrial research centers and scientific institutes. It is precisely in this way that man used to resolve all crises in the history of mankind. But to do this we need, above all, calm.

Those who do not want to profit by the chances of social accord and who -- seeking to satisfy their own ambitions -- proclaim strikes and block the constructive work of the economy, will bear historic responsibility for it. May the leaders of Solidarity bear in mind that their ambitions and political demands could very soon become reasons for starvation rations for the population. Deepening of the economic crisis, strikes, thus blocking the growth of raw materials' extraction -- these are not antigovernment, anti-peoples' power weapons. Above all, they damage our country and our society.

It is a duty of the government and of all those who have Poland's interests at heart to warn against the consequences of these actions and to indicate the way out. However, the present economic situation is such that regardless of any differences in political views and attitudes, from a purely economic point of view, an alert must be declared in our country. We are close to ultimate exhaustion. If we do not translate this alert into a program, if we do not exploit the opportunity presented to us by the variant of hope for 1982, then the crisis will destroy our country.

In the name of fundamental interests of the nation we must put an end to this confusion. These are not only constitutional considerations but also social and simply biological considerations which prohibit the transforming of the economy into a practice range for political games prompted by ambitions.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Barcikowski Address

LD301930 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1605 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, to the Sejm session in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] May it please the house! The premier's speech and the government proposals show great concern at the condition of our state and national economy. This concern is fully justified and, what is more, is shared by ever wider masses of citizens who experience so painfully the difficulties faced by all Polish society as a result of the worsening conditions of the state and national production.

However, what is important is not so much the ascertainment of the existing state of affairs but the acceptance of the way out, the approach to all workers asking them to examine in a businesslike manner the existing state of affairs, and the ways out of the present situation, which they are so painfully experiencing, which depend on their decision.

The esteemed house and, through the Sejm, the whole nation have received a proposal or rather a prognostication, a government proposal on the plan for 1982, a plan with three concepts or variants. This applies to the shaping of the economic situation next year. I stress "shaping" since, despite some dependence on results from causes outside our direct control as, for instance, the possibility of acquiring foreign loans or the influence of the weather on farming results, the rest depends on the people, their will and determination in the striving for an improvement in the economy and thus in their own living conditions.

More than once during the deliberation of the esteemed house, motions and plans have been submitted to the Sejm containing alternative solutions. The precepts of the 1982 plan contain these alternatives. They contain a kind of offer to the nation. Depending on how the majority of the people approaches the resolving of these problems, results will be achieved either in the form of a further drop of output and national revenue, or in the form of the country's embarking on the path of growth -- modest, it is true, but a path that will start a new phase of economic development.

The intermediate alternative contained in the precepts of the plan, which is placed between failure and real hope for improvement is, in fact, the middle alternative: medium conditions, average work and medium management.

Thus it is necessary to appeal to the best ambitions of economic cadres and all producers, urging them to turn the advantageous variant of hope into the objective of their universal actions and to implement it. Let us note that these possibilities will be considered by Sejm committees and by all the Sejm. But it is more important that this choice should be made consciously by the whole nation together with the Sejm.

The parliamentary PZPR will submit to the party and to interested citizens these variants for selection and decision. Citizen deputies, everyone of us has participated more than once in learned discussions on the primacy of politics over economics. On many occasions we have heard theses questioning the justifiability of this truth and warning against the misuse of politics in the economy. Let us note that today this is confirmed from what, in relation to those discussions, is the most surprising angle.

In Poland a situation has occurred in which the political calculations of forces striving for power, on a wave of awakened negation of what the nation has created to date under the party's leadership, are resulting in the blocking of development, the disorganization of the economy for the sake of the principle "the worse the better" -- that is, the better for those forces which bank on exploiting the social tensions against a backdrop of economic shortages in order to achieve power and their political goals.

The blockade for political reasons against the government's intentions aimed at improving the economic situation exerts a negative influence on production results and the living conditions of the population. The ensuing demagogic accusations of the effect that the authorities are inefficient are merely the sequel of this blockade and its consequences for the population. This thus justifies the conclusion that the overcoming of economic difficulties starts in the sphere of the country's political life.

In his speech the comrade premier developed the concept of and presented the subsequent proposals on forming a front of national accord in order to overcome the crisis and in order to reform the economy and life of the state in a spirit of socialist renewal. In this new alliance of forces actively interested in extricating the country from the crisis our party envisages the participation of all patriotic forces which have a socialist basis, including those which recognize the very fact of socialism's being the contemporary constitutional form of Poland, and which thus do not oppose the socialist state's constitutional order, since they place the country's development and security above differences in views of the world, differences which are recognized and which coexist in our state.

On the social basis of this front we are ready to seek personnel and political solutions which correspond to its nature and to the principles of the Polish People's Republic Constitution. We do not conceal our view that we consider as a profound misunderstanding the ideas which recur in various publications and [word indistinct] the possibility of forming a coalition of forces which oppose one another, that is, an alliance linking in the same organizational form forces in conflict with one another. Let us see whether a coalition and cooperation within the framework of a joint agreement of supporters of a given political system and of its opponents who are actively fighting against this system has ever been possible anywhere. Coalition is after all an alliance. Is an alliance of forces which oppose one another possible? Does an agreement in which any of the participants will be negating the party's leading role permit hope in the conditions of our political system? Thus the minimum of conditions must be fulfilled and the will to cooperate must be clearly expressed for participation or affiliation in the agreement to be fruitful.

Of course, anyone who remains outside the agreement is not exempt from having to be guided by the general reasons of the nation and its state.

No nation grants any opposition the power to treat its interests lightly; the Polish nation also will not grant such a right to anyone. This entails the natural duty even for opponents of the political system to limit themselves if they do not want to disturb the *raison d'etat* and the reasons of national interests and safety.

What I have said may sound too general, but I believe that it is clear enough to be understood in our situation today. The alliance of patriotic forces which is being built and guided by the reasons of the political system and the nation will be striving, we believe, to overcome the phenomena and activities which are jeopardizing the interests of our nation and the socialist state. It will be striving to overcome the crisis and to create permanent solutions for the future.

While the front of accord is being built the authorities must undertake specific activities to restore law in order to safeguard the elementary interests of citizens, the community and the state.

The refusal to respect the law established by the highest state organs is inconceivable in any civilized state, yet this happens with us and, moreover, it often happens with impunity.

This also happens regarding bills recently passed by the Sejm, which is to the detriment of the Sejm's authority. What is more, it is not unusual for there to be cases where, for example, the implementation of the new publications law's stipulations is treated as harassment. It provokes protests whose scope is disproportionate to the scale of the justified intervention. These are attempts to place the whole Solidarity organization's activity above the law. There can be no doubt that activity which strikes at the interests of the state and nation must be subject to punishment arising from the laws in force.

The government must also counteract effectively the anarchization of economic life. We have spoken of this here: the situation is still being maintained whereby the ambitions of the major and ultimately the utterly minor chieftains of Solidarity, who are not restrained by reason and a sense of responsibility, place in a state of strike, in other words inactivity, the industrial enterprises of whole voivodships, enterprises exerting great influence on the functioning of all the economy.

Thus the economy is being ruined under a slogan demanding its repair. The community which would reconcile itself to strike terrorism would have to condemn itself to decline. And so not only ought the Sejm, at the session which has begun, to warn against new threats of progressive economic devastation; we ought to grant the government powers for actions which effectively counteract strikes and violations of the law. If these decisions by the Sejm prove to be insufficient, the government ought to be empowered to appeal for emergency powers, entailed by the (?conflicts). We also ought to accelerate work on the trade union bill. The unending discussions and agreements, although important and necessary are continuing to make the passing of this bill more remote and by the force of things give rise to fears as to whether this constitutes a method of prolonging the state of abusing the strike [tool] with impunity. The statements which confirm such anxieties are well known.

Citizen deputies, we are witnessing in Poland an application of a kind of social technique. Numerous Solidarity activists have mastered to perfection the propaganda methods which support all kinds of negation in the country, which intensify tension and which provoke dislike and aggressiveness toward the representatives of the authorities and the state authorities themselves. In numerous work enterprises such methods of action have been turned against all people who think differently and often merely against rationally thinking people. The application of psychological pressure and terror during strikes has been acknowledged as a normal phenomenon and an ordinary method. Protest against the authorities has been elevated to the rank of a virtue, and the principles of nonparticipation in the positive solution of social problems and of avoiding responsibility for the common good (? have been made into virtues). If we add to these the uncompromising struggle to ensure immunity for oneself, then we will understand the threats which are brought by this so-called kind of teaching and its intensification to the socialist and democratic principles of social coexistence and to the attitude of citizens toward the state and Poland's links with the world and the socialist countries in particular.

All this sets in motion social movements whose results are still not fully appreciated by public opinion and which are fraught with a great threat to the community and Solidarity members themselves if they fail to counteract in time such methods of action by extremists.

In conclusion I would like to state that the PZPR Sejm deputies will give their full support to the government in its action aimed at overcoming the crisis. In accordance with the Central Committee decision we support the motion submitted by Comrade Jaruzelski with regard to the continuation of the joint performance of the duties which he discharges at present. Thank you. [applause]

PAP Reviews Proceedings

LD310942 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Oct (PAP) -- The Polish People's Republic's Sejm went into its second autumn session here today.

The speech delivered by PUPP first Secretary, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, was devoted to the socio-political situation in Poland, key problems of the economy and steps taken by the government.

Chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej presented the government's report on the implementation of the 1981 national socio-economic plan and state budget and the preliminary assumptions of the 1982 central socio-economic plan and state budget.

On behalf of the PUPP parliamentary club, Kazimierz Barcikowski took the floor in the Sejm debate on Jaruzelski's speech and the government report.

He stressed that ever broader masses of the society share the concern over the state of the country. Economic problems should be overcome also in the field of political life, he said.

Referring to the wave of strikes, Barcikowski said that any activity must agree with the law and that the government should counter anarchy in the economy. Dwelling on the consequences of abusing the right to strike, he said the Sejm should warn the society against the advancing devastation of the economy. [passage indistinct]

Deputy Edmund Osmanczyk, no party affiliation, touched on the problem of tourist travels and labour migration of Poles. Quoting excerpts from a document prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the speaker said that the ministry's intentions were for every Pole to hold a multiple reentry passport valid for all parts of the world which he could use freely. The speaker stressed that this was evidence that General Jaruzelski's government wants to build durable socialist democracy based in equal measure on the obligations and liberties of the citizens. The deputy also said that next to the legislative procedure, which of necessity takes time, there must be immediate government action to take care of increasing numbers of Polish citizens who choose to stay abroad. He assumed that between 80 and 100 thousand Poles who this year left the country holding tourist passports are likely to stay abroad.

Deputy Janusz Zablocki, speaking on behalf of the Polish Catholic-Social Union, declared that an overwhelming majority of Poles would like to see in the changes which have taken place in the country's political leadership a prognostic of more resolute and effective government action towards leading the country out of the crisis.

The speaker said it was a weakness of the hitherto political leadership that it replaced dialogue with the society with a dialogue with Solidarity. The deputy pointed out that this allowed the union to be a surrogate representative of the whole society, the spokesman of its needs and turned Solidarity into a social movement which some of its leaders and advisers conceived to be some sort of an opposition political party. Democratization of public life would help to unpoliticize Solidarity and free it from functions extending beyond the union status. In the longer prospect, refurbished electoral regulations would have the largest role to play in this respect, while the setting in motion of the constitutional mechanisms of social dialogue, social consultations, which could take on the form of a referendum with regard to exceptionally important matters, could become a short-term measure.

The deputy said that Polish Catholics should have the right to form a party with Christian inspiration. Such a party existed in People's Poland up to 1950. He referred to Article 81 of the Constitution which treats on [as received] equal rights of all Polish citizens and appealed that provisions of the Constitution should be put into effect integrally rather than selectively.

The debate will be continued tomorrow.

Reviewed Tri-City Agreements

LD311006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] We have learned from the Sejm press bureau that the extraordinary committee for the control of the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements met yesterday during the interval of yesterday's Sejm session.

The deputies acquainted themselves with an assessment of the concluded social contracts submitted by the committee's Presidium. After the entry of submitted amendments the document will be presented to the Government Presidium.

SEJM SESSION ACTIVITIES CONTINUE 31 OCTOBER

PAP on 31 Oct Session

LD312150 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Oct (PAP) This morning, the Sejm resumed debates on the speech delivered by Prime Minister Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski yesterday, on the government report on implementing the national socio-economic plan and the state budget, and on preliminary provisions of the 1982 economic plan and budget, with a special regard to situation in the coal mining and power industries.

Before the discussion began, changes were made in the agenda of the debates with the following items being introduced:

A report of the Committee for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and of the Legislative Committee on a draft law on the date of ending the tenure of people's assessors and members of misdemeanour courts, forwarded by the Council of State, [words indistinct] changes in the Council of Ministers.

The Sejm recalled Stanislaw Mach, Mieczyslaw Grudzien, Ryszard Karski, Zygmunt Lakomiec, Eugeniusz Szyr and Mieczyslaw Zajfryd from their posts.

The Sejm appointed Edward Kowalczyk vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Jan Antosik minister of the materials economy, Jan Kaminski minister of transport, Zenon Komender minister of home trade and services, Tadeusz Nestorowicz minister of foreign trade and Tadeusz Opolski minister of building and the building materials industry.

Zenon Komorowski was the first speaker in the discussion. He stated that an improvement in meat supply for the market -- at least to the level of several months ago -- may come very quick. To this end, however, the farmers must be given the possibility to buy various goods and be ensured appropriate quantities of coal and fodder.

Deputy Mieczyslaw Lubinski, while discussing the housing situation, declared that the assumptions of the 1982 socio-economic plan do not meet social expectation in this sphere and do not allow for an effective solution of the housing issue. There is a need for a definite programme of housing development, which will meet social expectations.

Deputy Jozef Wojtala said that concrete market effects are fastest produced by small and medium forms of economic activity, with relatively small participation of the state. Hence, it is necessary to deeply transform small-scale industries, on the basis of the principles of autonomy and self-financing.

Emphasizing the need for the use of political methods in coming out of the crisis, Deputy Stachura supported the Sejm call to abandon the strikes. He stated, however, that they cannot be halted in a legal way.

He reiterated the thesis that was recurring in the debate that a grave crisis of confidence in authority lay at the root of the present situation and that the overcoming of the crisis should be served by an expanded social base in the exercise of authority and the creation of a wide coalition uniting various segments of opinion. The deputy assessed positively the formation and work of the military operational groups.

Deputy Henryka Frac stressed that it is not farmers that are responsible for the currently difficult food situation of the country. The only way to satisfy the food needs is to increase the supply of the means of production for agriculture, he said.

Deputy Jozef Ozga-Michalski recalled his personal experiences from World War Two and the joint Polish-Soviet struggle against Nazism, voicing his deepest disapproval of the anti-Soviet campaign launched in our country by hostile forces.

Analyzing the social moods and their historical origin the speaker said that an enormous impetus of social activeness is observable, on the one hand, and, a non-functioning economy, on the other hand. I am, said he, for the appeal of the General Jaruzelski government, which postulates the strengthening of all the forces standing guard to the law, in order to protect the state and counteract anarchy and licence.

Deputy Zbigniew Zielsinski stated that according to him none of the variants of the 1982 draft plan changes the to-date defensive economic policy into a more offensive one. The only vehicle of progress in all the variants of the economic reform is the volume of coal output, which is to condition the general development of the Polish economy and the level of the supply for the population.

The deputy proposed to work out a long-term programme, with the help of independent experts and wide social consultation. This does not relieve the government organs, including the Planning Commission, from working out a more in-depth version of the 1982 draft plan [words indistinct] budget.

Deputy Alojzy Langner declared that Poland's agriculture is able to supply the market with greater quantities of produce, yet it carries the burden of various anomalies, low farming culture as well as misconceived thriftiness and ineffective construction of livestock facilities.

Deputy Jan Kubit stressed that the present fuel balance, based only on hard coal and not accounting for other sources of energy, is unacceptable. The export of non-processed raw materials is also a mistake. In the situation of deep power deficit, nuclear energy should be developed: The construction works on the nuclear power station at Zarnowiec should begin. The speaker recalled that a Sejm committee had sent a letter on the issue to the prime minister.

The Sejm can, and should, equip the government with special powers to counter the threat posed to our national and state existence. This would give the government the opportunity to pull out of the present economic crisis. Otherwise, we shall be taken to merciless account by history not for our words but for our deeds, he said.

Deputy Zdzislaw Malicki in his speech full of dramatism, informed Sejm deputies about the results of the over week-long general strike in the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. The losses are hard to determine exactly already now, he said, but, for example, in the export of sulphur they amount already to 5 million dollars.

From the Sejm tribune, said he, deputies of the Tarnobrzeg region turn to all the residents of this voivodship, to the regional strike committee, with a warm appeal to halt the strike. We ask you to take into consideration the appeal of Solidarity's National Commission. We shall jointly strive for the solution of the most painful problems of our voivodship.

Next, the Sejm acknowledged the government report on the implementation of the national socio-economic plan and state budget for the current year as well as on the preliminary assumptions of the central socio-economic plan and state budget for 1982.

At the next point of the agenda Polish Minister of Education Boleslaw Faron reviewed and substantiated the teacher's charter bill, which regulates the [word indistinct] questions of the teacher's status, eliminating those regulations of the 1972 charter of teacher's rights and duties which became obsolete and today do not meet the expectations of pedagogues.

The bill is an important link in the government efforts aimed at improving the situation in Polish education and upgrading the teaching profession. A major part of the rights provided by the charter will be put to life since 1982. [as received] The bill would constitute the last stage of the initiated programme aimed at bettering the material situation of educationists, and reflects the implementation of the obligations contained in the social accords signed by the government and the Trade Unions of Teachers.

Next, the Sejm unanimously adopted a resolution on social peace in the country.

Finally, the Sejm marshal informed the house he had received a letter signed by 19 deputies, voicing deep indignation at the content of the utterances made by Solidarity national commission member Marian Jurczyk at the furniture factory in Trzebiatow on October 28. The Sejm marshal said he shared the deputies' indignation.

The session closed shortly after 2 p.m.

Jurczyk Remarks Attacked

NC311524 Paris AFP in English 1509 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Oct (AFP) -- The speaker of the Polish parliament, Stanislaw Gucwa, today read out in parliament a letter from 19 deputies expressing indignation over reported remarks by the head of the Szczecin branch of the independent trade union federation Solidarity, Marian Jurczyk.

The deputies said the remarks by Mr Jurczyk, runner-up to Lech Walesa during the recent election for leadership of Solidarity, were insulting to the Soviet Union and the Polish Government.

Mr Gucwa, who said he shared the deputies' indignation, made no direct reference to the remarks, reported to have been uttered by Mr Jurczyk during last Wednesday's one-hour strike.

But according to the news media, Mr Jurczyk said that the parliament and cabinet were "traitor to Poland," adding: "The time for sweet talk is over. They can scream all they like, but (Prime Minister Wojciech) Jaruzelski will never be able to put a soldier behind every Polish worker."

He is also reported to have described the Soviet Union as "an artificial friend of Poland," adding that the active strike -- control of production and distribution -- advocated recently by Solidarity as a new form of action, would aim at "preventing Polish goods from going to the Soviet Union."

"The whole world respects us," he was quoted as saying, "and for that reason the Soviet Union should respect us all the more."

He was also reported to have demanded the punishment of those responsible for the bloody suppression of the popular revolts of 1956 and 1970, adding: "Perhaps scaffolds will have to be built for some of them."

Council of Elders Resolution

LD311424 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1202 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Resolution proposed by Sejm Council of Elders at 31 October Sejm session in Warsaw, read by Andrzej Werblan -- live]

[Text] The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, having heard the speech by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, confirms its support for the premier and the government. The Sejm expresses its profound disquiet over the further deterioration of the social and political situation, over the growing wave of strikes and protest actions, the scope of which causes incalculable losses and threatens incalculable consequences. Once again millions of our citizens are experiencing moments of intensified unease over the fate of the country. Strike actions, so frequently stirred up in the name of particularist interests, are paralyzing the nation's economy. Their consequences include not only considerable material losses but moral losses also, which are far more difficult to make up.

Social bonds between human teams are breaking, dramatic divisions are being created and conflicts occur. These are extremely painful matters because they tear apart the texture of people's lives, deprive our country of credibility in the international arena and lead the state to ruin. The Sejm understands and shares the social dissatisfaction caused by the difficulties. The Sejm acknowledges government actions taken so far toward overcoming the crisis and achieving economic stability. Being aware of the ineffectiveness of these actions, the Sejm accepts government pledges that everything possible will be done in order to improve the existing state of affairs as soon as possible.

The Sejm calls upon all of society to give full support and help in government efforts. It is impossible to get the country out of the crisis and to improve the lot of the working people without joint action.

The Sejm recognizes the need for the urgent preparation of a complex wage system which would level out the accumulated disproportions and which would stimulate production growth.

It is also indispensable to introduce price reform together with just principles of compensation, taking into account the particular material situation of the lowest-paid workers. The Sejm puts the government under the obligation to place the drafts of appropriate legal acts on the agenda, taking into account the results of consultations and renegotiations.

The Sejm expresses particular anxiety over the endeavors of the extreme forces in NSZZ Solidarity which embark on actions aimed against the socialist system's precepts, and over all such endeavors which form a fertile soil for confrontation sentiments, whatever the sources.

The Sejm expresses the view that these trends and actions glaringly contradict the spirit, letter and the intentions of the social agreements from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie as well as the vital interests of the nation and state. They aim against our common good.

That is why the Sejm demands that an end be put to inciting the minds of Polish women and men. It demands a constructive contribution to overcoming the crisis tormenting our country; respect for Polish constitutional principles and institutions and observance of its laws.

The Sejm regards the defense of the socialist foundation and system values of the state as well as the continuation of the socialist renewal of our social life as a supreme issue. The Sejm emphasizes the particular weight and importance of the unshaken alliance of our country, in particular the friendly and neighborly relations with the Soviet Union.

The Sejm resolutely condemns all anti-Soviet actions for they are contrary to the interest of our nation. The Sejm categorically calls for an end to be put to unrest and all actions which violate social harmony and the order of work. The effort of the whole nation at the present moment should be concentrated on achieving stabilization and a gradual reconstruction of economic balance. In the face of a threat to our national existence, and in order to ensure our citizens' basic needs. The Sejm calls for all strike actions which are destroying the country to end without delay. When the country is in the direst need it is not the time for interrupting work or for demonstrations.

The Sejm states that the resources worked for by the whole nation cannot serve to remunerate those who take part in strikes declared for reasons and in a manner contrary to the social agreements. The state administration and the organs of public order and of the administration of justice must guard public order in a consistent way and must act in accordance with the law. It is made incumbent on the government to proclaim a resolute struggle against anarchy and all manifestations of law breaking.

If the Sejm appeal yields no results, if a state of higher necessity and of a threat to our national existence come about, the Sejm will consider a proposition to grant the government whatever legal means the situation may call for.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic appeals to the civic awareness of every Pole: Let us do everything to overcome the present difficulties together; let us improve the food situation of the urban population; and let us ensure the country and its citizens the essential fuel and energy. The Sejm calls on everyone to struggle together for social peace and for reconstructing our economic life.

Amendment to Resolution

LD311456 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1255 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Amendment to Sejm Council of Elders resolution passed at 31 October Sejm session in Warsaw, read by Andrzej Werblan -- live;]

[Text] The Sejm expresses appreciation for all those opposing strike activity which is damaging the economy. At the same time, the Sejm notes with approbation the latest appeal by the Solidarity National Commission Presidium for the suspension of current strike actions, and also the earlier appeals by other union headquarters and social organizations concerning the same matter.

'Warning' Seen in Resolution

LD021138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 2 Nov 81

[From the press review]

[Text] The Sejm session ended early on Saturday afternoon. Harsh words fell from the Sejm tribune, writes TRYBUNA LUDU journalist Zbigniew Lakomski. However, the ultimate word was not uttered in the hope that eventually the collective wisdom of the nation will prevail, for after all it wishes to live a normal, stable life.

We read in the commentary: The dramatic nature of our situation stems on the one hand from a deep and justified bitterness of the entire society, built up over the years, and on the other from the actions of those who exacerbate the fuel that bitterness and those feelings, seeking to derive benefits for themselves from it. We read in the Sejm resolution: If the Sejm appeal yields no results, if a state of higher necessity and of threat to our national existence come about, the Sejm will consider a proposition to grant the government whatever legal means the situation may call for.

These words, TRYBUNA LUDU writes, should be treated as a warning, as putting the matter clearly and openly out of a sense of responsibility for the nation's fate. At the same time, however, the offer by the state authorities of cooperation with all the social forces who have the fate of socialist Poland at heart remains equally open.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Sejm Session

LD021000 Warsaw PAP in English 0819 GMT 2 Nov 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Nov (PAP) -- In a comment on the weekend session of the Polish Sejm the PUWP daily newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today that "the dramatism of our situation comes on the one hand from the justified, swollen over the years, feeling of bitterness felt by the whole society and on the other hand, from the action of those who incite and fuel this feeling trying to draw from it benefits for themselves.

"This refers to the extremist forces which have placed themselves behind the back of Solidarity union masses and are trying to manipulate them. Their dream is to change the system principles [as received] of our socialist state which they can realize only by crushing its structures."

The paper pointed out that the Polish premier's proposal "to establish a council of national agreement to work out a new formula for the work of the Front of National Unity (FJN) and the formation of a social consultative council at the Government Presidium as well as the proposal to call up a standing mixed commission comprising representatives of the government and all the trade unions existing in Poland create an opportunity for effective expansion of the direct participation of the citizens in the practical work of the organs of authority, in the shaping of the fate of the country.

"Today, this is a necessity, only in the conditions of unity of all the patriotic, progressive forces of the nation, all the citizens of our state, and profound use of their collective wisdom in constructive action, can we think about saving our common home," stated TRYBUNA LUDU.

JURCZYK ADDRESS ATTACKS USSR, JARUZELSKI

Warsaw Cites Speech

LD310226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] PAP reports that despite Wednesday's warning strike, a member of the National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity and a leader of Szczecin Solidarity, Marian Jurczyk, addressed a meeting of Solidarity activists held in the furniture factory at Trzebiatow. Due to the contents of his speech it is impossible to ignore it since it allows people to become better acquainted with the nature of the accusations leveled against the ruling circles by Solidarity extremists. It also constitutes a reply to those who adopt a reserved attitude toward statements on further aggravating the political struggle in Poland.

Marian Jurczyk, in his speech, called both the deputies and the government traitors to Polish society. This is Moscow's delegation, he said. They are not interested in Polish society but only their own interests. The period of friendship has ended, he continued, speaking about the strikes. Let them shout whatever they want; we are not interested. Jaruzelski is unable to assign a soldier to watch every worker.

Next, he repeated some of the allegations on Polish-Soviet economic cooperation which have been spread recently as an integral part of the anti-Soviet campaign fanned by, among others, the Solidarity leadership. After this he explained to his audience the plan for the gradual takeover of economic power in our country by Solidarity. These plans are behind the idea of the so-called active strike worked out by this union recently. Solidarity intends to take over the distribution of goods produced during that period. There too, Marian Jurczyk said, the point is not to allow them to be exported to Moscow.

Jurczyk called our Soviet partner, who has been giving us invaluable economic aid recently, "an artificial friend." In order to fan up this anti-Soviet campaign, Jurczyk said in his speech that he intends to use the foreign contacts established by Solidarity during the recent visits by Solidarity leaders to foreign countries.

In particular, he told those present his own aspirations regarding foreign policy, independent from the state policy, and did not fail to jump at this opportunity to give some advice and instructions to the Soviet Union. The entire world must take account of us, he said, and if the world must take account of us, our artificial friend, the Soviet Union, must count take account on us even more so.

Jurczyk also made a number of allegations against members of the state leadership and even stated that some of them are using assumed names. These critical remarks also concerned the PZPR Central Committee first secretary, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, who was treated more leniently and in a patronizing way by the Solidarity leader. Mr Jaruzelski is not able to consolidate the party, said Jurczyk, and he predicted that the time would come when there would not be party organizations at enterprises. The party will remain, he said, only in towns. A headquarters will be built there and let them stay there and procreate the party ideology. The party can not govern the economy, he said.

Jurczyk next expressed a negative opinion on Industrial Branch Trade Unions. They are an extension of the PZPR in his opinion; they are a part of the administration, the security service, and the military political administration, he said.

Next the Solidarity leader formulated categorical demands to settle accounts with people responsible for the events in 1956 and 1970 and announced the creation of a social tribunal already announced at the Solidarity congress. What these settlements of accounts will be like is best illustrated by a verbatim excerpt of Jurczyk's speech: "It is possible that gallows will have to be erected for some people and they will have to be hanged. In my opinion it would not be superfluous to erect some gallows as an example." And he continued: "We must do our utmost so that not even one single drop of blood should soak into our soil." This principle, however, should enter in force only after the bloody settlement of accounts has ended. Gallows are the symbol of these settlements for Marian Jurczyk which was mentioned repeatedly in the next part of his speech.

The language of threats, psychological terror and the endeavor to push Poland to the brink of a disaster dominates those parts of Jurczyk's speech in which he discusses our immediate future. I think, he said, that this year will be the decisive year. A shock must occur and I would like it to be lenient on us. It is difficult to say how all this will end. A shock is needed in order to enable us to take power. He only hoped that this shock would not be a tragic one.

Coming back to the issues of foreign policy — and it is worth recalling that Solidarity recently renounced the intention to conduct foreign policy — Jurczyk proposed to transform Poland into a neutral country and he (?indulged) in wanderings about the role and the intentions of the Soviet Union.

Next he paid tribute to KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], and to conclude, he formulated allegations against Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in the same vein as he spoke about him on television recently.

It is worthwhile to compare the aforementioned speech with those passages of the Sejm speech by General Jaruzelski in which he spoke about dangers to our state and nation resulting from irresponsible and adventurist activity by extremist circles in Solidarity.

Jurczyk Investigation Opens

LD012044 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] The Prosecutor General's Office reports that yesterday the Szczecin Voivodship Prosecutor's Office opened an investigation into the public statements made by Marian Jurczyk, member of the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, the leader of Solidarity in the Szczecin region, at a meeting with activists of the union at the furniture factory in Trzebiatow on 25 October. The statements, in part, contravened Article 270, Paragraph 1 of the penal code.

Press Criticizes Speech

LD021010 Warsaw PAP in English 0823 GMT 2 Nov 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Nov (PAP) -- "Marian Jurczyk's views and statements at a meeting with Solidarnosc activists at a furniture factory in Trzebiatow have nothing in common with the union's statute, the line of social agreement and with elementary political common sense," trade union paper GLOS PRACY said.

"The union constantly assures that it does not at all intend to be a political party. How should then plans to gradually take over economic power, proclaimed by Marian Jurczyk, be understood? The union terms all anti-Soviet actions as provocations by some indefinite forces. How should then Marian Jurczyk's assertion that the USSR is Poland's "artificial friend" be called?

"In almost each of their statements, the Solidarnosc activists say that this union is far from thinking about taking over power and that people need peace more than ever before. Therefore, what does the need for a shock to take over power which 'should not be tragic,' announced by the leader of the Solidarnosc board of the Western Pomerania, mean?

"Almost everyday Solidarnosc says that it is subject to various provocations. Are not they such as Marian Jurczyk's statement? Solidarnosc members must answer this question", GLOS PRACY wrote.

The army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI accused Jurczyk of "obsessive political ambitions" and of fanning up tension and inciting protest actions through claims about the authorities being "Moscow's agents" and about army trucks and helicopters being used for "shipping everything away to Moscow."

"It has to be admitted that Jurczyk is sincere and openly hostile to the popular authorities and socialism, whereas others are doing the same in a veiled way."

"Slanders, the propagation of lies and the spreading of demagoguery, now used by enemies of people's power, are especially dangerous now when people are deeply dissatisfied over shortages of daily necessities. Tired and irritated people easily succumb to social demagoguery. Jurczyk not only brutally violates the social accords of August 1980 and does not deal with union questions, but he consistently strives to implement his vision".

SOLIDARITY KK PRESIDIUUM HOLDS SESSION 30 OCT

Intraunion Discipline Needed

LD301706 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] According to PAP, the Presidium of the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission [KK] has held a session in Gdansk. The Presidium has familiarized itself with the causes and progress of strike conflicts in a few regions of the country.

During discussion the necessity for strengthening intraunion discipline was emphasized. All strike actions, states a communique issued after the session, embarked upon without prior agreement and in an uncoordinated manner, weaken the union's strength which is absolutely essential to tackle the problems which, as far as the public is concerned, are the most urgent ones at the present moment: improvement in food supplies, establishment of social control over the economy and gaining access to mass media.

As a result of the 2-hour session of the KK, an appeal has been made to all Solidarity members. Among other things, they have been called upon to suspend the strikes in progress at the moment. It has been agreed that problems of intraunion discipline will be dealt with during the KK plenary session planned for 3 November. At that time the KK Presidium will suggest that a union disciplinary commission be set up.

Appeal for End to Strikes

LD301938 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Appeal of the Presidium of the National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity to all members of Solidarity]

[Text] The Presidium of the KK assesses the country's current economic and social situation as critical. On one hand, there are many unsettled matters; many irregularities occur and provocations evoke universal indignation. On the other hand, the protest actions have assumed an elemental, unorganized character. This threatens the break up of the union and the loss of the community's support.

The decisions of the national congress and the appeals of the KK, the appeal states, are not meeting with understanding. In this situation, implementation of the established policy of the union is becoming utterly impossible, and the name Solidarity is beginning to be an empty term.

Wishing to save that which we have achieved as a union, and wishing to retain the possibility for further considered actions and not actions contrary to the interests of the entire community, we appeal to members of the union to cease strike actions immediately, in many cases this requires withdrawal from actions evoked by objective causes, contrary to the principles of a simple sense of social justice. This is difficult and contrary to our national character. This is, however, the fundamental condition for our existence, and this condition we must fulfill. The Presidium sees no other way, and is not able in the present conditions to continue to act.

This is because the proper conditions are essential for firm and constructive actions. Thus, we appeal to everyone to cease, by way of a conscious restriction -- based on the internal decisions of the union -- of the right to unorganized strikes. Nobody can take from us the right to strike, and we shall never allow this. But it is we who must program the use of this weapon, and we must do this in a considered, planned way.

With the strength of the entire union, we must deal in the immediate future with the matters which are most important for the whole nation: food, economic reform, social control of the economy, and access to the mass media. Perhaps we will have to make use of our ultimate weapon in these matters. In a situation of general chaos, it would be an ineffective weapon. At the next KK session, the Presidium will submit a proposal for an intraunion limitation of the right to strike, and for the determining of means of disciplining by the union those who are guilty of weakening the unity and discipline of the union.

[Signed] Lech Walesa, Ryszard Blaszczyk, Andrzej Konarski, Mirosław Krupinski, Jacek Jurek, Grzegorz Palka, Grzyňa Przybylska-Wendt, Antoni Tokarczuk, Jan Waszkiewicz, Stanisław Wadolowski.

STRIKE SITUATION CONTINUES IN VARIOUS REGIONS

Warsaw TV Roundup

LD301952 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, a while ago we recieved from the office of the government press spokesman a detailed report on the strike situation in Poland. Here are a few examples:

In Skierniewice Voivodship, on strike are among others five key industry enterprises: linen, hosiery, clothes, technical, and textiles.

Katowice Voivodship: The Sosnowiec hard coal mine is still on strike in connection with the incident of scattering gas-containing vials. In addition, the strike action has been joined by the rail transportation enterprise in the Rybnik-Boguszowice locality demanding increased meat allocations.

Szczecin: Construction enterprises announced a strike to begin 3 November, unless the government commission for talks with the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity of Construction Workers furnishes the required authorization.

In Opole Voivodship, 28 work's committees of employees of the Polish National Bank announced a strike of bank staff on 5 November in connection with the failure of the authorities to implement a new pay scale for the Polish National Bank Employees.

A solidarity strike with the Sosnowiec mine has been announced by other mines of the Katowice Voivodship: Grodziec, Zawadzkie, Nivka and Modrzejow.

In Radom Voivodship, a warning strike is being planned to demand that the prosecutor's office should drop the investigation against the former manager of Department II of the Radom casting works.

Strike readiness of the employees of the dairy cooperatives in Krosno Voivodship continues. Also, in Gorzow Voivodship strike readiness continued in connection with the investigation against the Solidarity activists of the region.

In Koszalin Voivodship, a protest action has been announced in many key industry enterprises. They are authorized by the trade union Social Control Commission.

In Jelenia Gora Voivodship at the Wizon chemical industry works, strike readiness continues against the background of the demand for upgrading the employees as first category employment.

In Szczecin Voivodship, strike readiness has been proclaimed in the dairy cooperative enterprises in connection with the decision of the National Union of Cooperatives.

Tension Continues in Zyrardow

LD301926 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Excerpts] According to PAP, a tense situation continues in Zyrardow. The strike in key enterprises there continues, and the attempt to solve the conflict after Lech Walesa's visit ended in failure. More and more workforces are going on strike. Municipal transportation is not functioning for the second day now. Employees of the Zyrardow housing cooperative have also declared a 48-hour strike. Today, women from Zyrardow factories began attempts to solve the conflict. Their delegation has gone to see Halina Skibniewska, deputy speaker of the Sejm, about the matter.

The Lodz board of the Union of Polish Teachers' "Oswiata" decided today to call off the warning strike planned for 3 November, and to suspend strike readiness which has been brought about by the fact that the government draft teachers' charter was passed to the Sejm without consultation with the teachers' circles.

And here now is a PAP report: Talks between the interregional Consultative Commission of the Polish Motor Transportation [PKS], affiliated to NSZZ Solidarity, and the government commission headed by Andrzej Markowski, deputy minister of transportation, which lasted nearly 20 hours, ended early this morning in Krakow. The sides recognized in the joint agreement that has been signed that the liquidation of the PKS association will take place on the basis of principles and in the manner decided by the Council of Ministers, whereas the powers of this association will cease to exist the day of its liquidation. As of 1 January 1982, we read in the agreement, the minister of transportation will order the reorganization of existing PKS enterprises on the basis of proposals of workers' self-managements and in accordance with the law on the enterprise.

Commission Issues 'Communique'

LD302154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Correspondent's dispatch from Rzeszow]

[Text] In Tarnobrzeg Voivodship, the general strike proclaimed by Solidarity is still continuing. A government delegation led by Deputy Secretary of State in the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection Jan Jablonski has been in the voivodship since yesterday. Together with the Tarnobrzeg voivoda, he held consultations with the Solidarity Regional Strike Committee [RKS] from Stalowa Wola. Today, however, the government side published a communique on the talks. We read in it that the government commission proposed talks on the earlier announced condition that the strike must end. The RKS, Sandomierz region, reiterates its previous stance that the strike cannot be stopped; and any possible gradual suspension of protest action in individual plants is made conditional by Solidarity on progress in the talks. In practice, this proposal means holding talks under the strong pressure of a strike atmosphere, which makes constructive and objective settlement of the demands put forward impossible, the government side says, and their scope and scale are linked with the region's problems in their entirety. There can be no ad hoc solution to them; it requires time and considerable investment outlays. The government commission is ready to hold business-like talks and to look for constructive and realistic solutions. The strike action also hampers the implementation of demands put forward by the union, and it is impossible to meet the region's needs better when production losses are worsening day by day.

In this situation, responsibility for the effects of the prolonging the strike and failure to enter into talks falls on the Sandomierz region Solidarity. Even though talks have not begun with the trade union, the commission, together with the voivodship authorities, examined the region's current affairs and will help the voivodship to solve its most pressing problems.

Strike Suspension Rejected

LD312146 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] As our correspondent reports what is now the third successive government commission attempting to resolve the conflict in the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship has left this region. The regional strike committee of Solidarity has once again rejected the demand for the suspension of the strike, as a preliminary condition for the commencement of negotiations. The government commission recognized that in practice, this would mean carrying out talks under powerful pressure in a strike atmosphere.

The sit-in strike of members of Solidarity in the higher engineering school in Radom is continuing.

Strikes Continue in Tarnobrzeg

LD012224 Warsaw PAP in English 2052 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Nov (PAP) -- November 1 was the 10th day of a general strike in the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship called by Solidarnosc in the vital sulphur mining region. So far, repeated attempts by the voivodship authorities and the government representatives to solve the conflict show no results.

The crippling strike has already resulted in huge losses of sulphur, [word indistinct], steel and manufactured goods. The production of many sulphur-derived products in other parts of the country will soon be affected as well.

The PUWP organization [word indistinct] a huge fertilizer complex near Szczecin issued a dramatic appeal to the PUWP factory executive at the Tarnobrzeg sulphur mines saying that the lack of sulphur threatens that fertilizer production may be considerably lowered if not altogether discontinued if the strike goes on.

Meanwhile the Solidarnosc regional strike committee has imposed a total clampdown on the passing of any information to press, radio and television reporters.

Walesa Arrives in Tarnobrzeg

LD021132 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Text] Lech Walesa, chairman of Solidarity's National Commission, has arrived in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship.

At 1000 a meeting between Lech Walesa and the "siarkopol" workforce began in the sulphur mine and processing plant in Machow.

Strike Continues at Sosnowiec

LD311722 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] The strike in Sosnowiec mine staged in connection with the events which took place in front of this mine a few days ago is continuing. The strikers in a special message sent to the premier have voiced their vote of no-confidence in Katowice Voivoda Henryk Lichos who, according to them, is avoiding any talks. The miners, taking into account the safety of the mine and shortage of coal at the Ladziska power plant, will be working on the first shift on Monday but without stopping the strike. A considerable part of the output will be handed over to the above-mentioned power plant where the power-producing units had to be stopped due to a lack of fuel.

Further on Strike

LD312248 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] The strike in the Sosnowiec mine staged in connection with the events which took place in front of this mine a few days ago is continuing. Let us recall that an unknown perpetrator threw vials containing a toxic substance out of a car. One of the vials broke resulting in the poisoning of several dozen people. Dr Jan Klopotoski, from the Sosnowiec Institute of Industrial Medicine, has informed us that a total of 69 people staged in the hospitals in Sosnowiec, Bytom and Katowice. Almost 60 of them had left the hospital by 30 October. The strikers, on the other hand, maintain on the basis of their calculations that 73 people were poisoned and hospitalized. It seems that if doctors would have thought there would be this controversy over numbers they would have counted more accurately.

All the medical communiques which we receive state that all the injured parties are feeling well and that the poison is causing no long term effects.

Meanwhile, the strike committee chairman told our reporter that this information is untrue, because one of the people had to receive medical treatment again after being released from the hospital and his condition is serious. Despite the investigation which is being conducted by the regional prosecutor's office in Sosnowiec and intensive activities on the part of the militia aimed at discovering the perpetrators of the outrageous provocation, the strikers feel that not everything has been settled as it should be. Public opinion, on the other hand, does not really know what happened. One gets the impression that none of the strikers believes in the report made in the forensic studies department of the central headquarters of the Citizens' Militia (MC) which defined the substance as (?tetrahydrobiophon). Solidarity members are making the accusation that the ampules taken by the militia were not examined in the presence of Solidarity representatives despite the fact that a member of the workforce who been sent to Warsaw by the director of the workforce participated in the examination.

Two kinds of samples were additionally taken from the affected area. The samples were secured and then handed over to the specialists appointed by Solidarity. Results of the expert analysis are similar but the strikers are still not ready to treat them with confidence since, in their opinion, there are discrepancies between the results of the expert analysis and the effects of the toxic substance.

The strike, however, continues unabated. The striking miners during a meeting held between shifts decided to send the premier a statement in which they express a vote of no-confidence in the Katowice voivoda, demanding his recall from his post, justifying their demand by saying that the authorities are dragging their feet and systematically avoid talks. In the meantime 30,000 tons of coal have been lost due to the strike.

Today the strikers decided to start coal extraction operations during one shift -- the first shift on 2 November. These operations are necessary from the angle of the miners' safety and also because the Ladzisz electric power station is experiencing a coal shortage. It is believed that the strikers will extract some 4,000 tons of coal on 2 November. Under the special supervision of Solidarity's members, the coal is to be handed over to the Ladzisz electric power station.

As far as the documents we are familiar with are concerned, the Sosnowiec mine strikers have so far failed to make their views known with regard to the appeal by the central authorities to suspend their strike action. This will be possible between the first and the second shift on 2 November which is when at least 2/3 of the strikers will have an opportunity to hold a meeting.

We have also been told that the strikers will then decide on the Sejm's appeal to put an end to destructive strike action.

Miners Talk With Authorities

LD020042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The situation at the Sosnowiec mine has not changed following the incident involving the toxic substance. A mass meeting of the workforce, which is on strike, is to take place between the first and the second shift. PAP journalists have been told that the strike committee's mediating group at the Sosnowiec mine today held the first part of talks with representatives of the voivodship authorities. The second part of the talks has been announced for tomorrow.

Strikes Suspended in Torun

LD301544 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] The regional board of NSZZ Solidarity in Torun, acting for the good of the union as a whole and in accordance with the necessity of coordinating protest actions on a national scale, proclaims a suspension of strike readiness and all declared protest actions as of 1200 on 30 October. The regional board made it incumbent on the Presidium to prepare documentation to confirm the accusations and to carry out a referendum in the plant commissions of NSZZ Solidarity on the subject of recalling the voivoda and his deputy. It is stated in the resolution that the results of the referendum will provide the basis for an appeal to the premier to recall the voivodas from their posts.

Zielona Gora Strikes Continue

LD011812 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Despite the Sejm appeal and an appeal from the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, strike and protest actions are continuing in the majority of enterprises in the Zielona Gora Voivodship. They are supported by the regional board of Solidarity in Zielona Gora and, according to its organizers, are being staged to back up the union's members on strike at the Lubogora farming enterprise.

In connection with All Souls Day, the strike has been suspended only as far as municipal transportation is concerned.

The strike in Zyrardow is also continuing. On the initiative of the Sejm deputy speaker, Halina Skibniewska, another meeting between the strikers and a government delegation has been held in Skierniewice. The issue of food supplies was discussed. The most important problem at present is the issue of remuneration for time on strike; the strikers demand that a normal wage be paid. The talks are to be continued.

Walesa Speech in Zielona Gora

LD301916 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Excerpt] Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity is in Zielona Gora today. He met with the citizens of Zielona Gora at the amphitheatre at noon. Those present were most interested to hear what Lech Walesa had to say about the current strike situation in the voivodship:

[Begin Walesa recording] Ladies and gentlemen, really I came to you so that we may jointly resolve this matter here. Of course it is very difficult, but we are capable of resolving even the most difficult matters together, jointly. That is why I think that together we shall manage to find a solution, moreover one which will satisfy us all. Of course, I must also say I have not come here in the best of moods. I do not know whether you are conversant with the KK statement issued in Gdansk yesterday [words indistinct] our union, a great union that had great hopes, is disintegrating today. Of course, the moment I arrived I buttonholed your chairman and we had quite an exchange -- we had words. At the same time, I noticed that things are not quite as they should be here. Well, were I in his place, I would have done the same thing. I understood [interrupted by tumultuous applause and shouts of approval] and I apologized to him there; I apologize to him now. He also understood me.

At times, looking on from Gdansk, we look at problems somehow in a different way. This is not because we have departed from the workforces, from you, but because the problems that arise here do not arise anymore in Gdansk or other places. These directors in our region have already gone out of the window, furtively at times, or in other ways.

Therefore, they do not exercise tyranny over us anymore. No such situation exists in our region anymore. That is why the problem is this -- there is a bit of misunderstanding here. We must today look at different things. In a few months' time it will be cold, queues will be forming; there is no food -- well, it seems there is no food -- we must find out where it is.

That is why we have these great aims but they are being relegated to secondary places. This is not good, since tomorrow or the day after we will face other facts and say: OK, it was all very nice but now I have nothing to eat. Ladies and gentlemen, such is the case in Zyrardow which I visited -- you know about this. Women have stopped working because their coupons were met by only 15 percent. Of course, I would say something different: If this gentleman, or those three gentlemen there, were indeed without guilt -- well, let us assume they were without guilt -- but if they were and felt like activists, they should have done something different, such as: OK, you do not want us, we'll go then if it will keep the masses happy. But they have not done this. [interrupted by tumultuous and prolonged applause]

That is why I regard them as bad activists and bad patriots, because it is because of them that we are having to pay and bear needless costs. [applause]

At the same time, ladies and gentlemen, once this conflict is over you must understand us and [word indistinct] the KK. It would be a bad thing if similar things continue to happen throughout the country: Well, you will calm down, you will somehow struggle through all this, but there'll be yet another flash point again, say in Bydgoszcz, or elsewhere. And again, a conflagration of this kind may involve you.

Yesterday we agreed to appoint 20-30 people -- a group so that enterprises and regions may let it know of their cares and problems. This group will immediately reach its conclusions and will try to resolve the problem forthwith. At the same time, it will try for coverage in the press, publications, radios, wherever it manages to find access, so that society knows what we are playing for, so that I never hear anyone in Szczecin or, say Koszalin, ask me: What do these Zielona Gora people want? Right, they will prepare the ground in advance and the entire society will know that you have no other way out, that you must fight for your honor, that you will not yield, and so on and so forth. Today, both the KK and, to some extent, your own board, made the mistake that your situation and problems were not known generally to all. Well, they are known since they occur everywhere. But they were not known in detail.

[Unidentified voice] How do you assess negotiations with Kacala conducted by the MKS [Interfactory Strike Committee] Tell us the truth.

[Walesa continues] Ladies and gentlemen, I have had extensive contacts with Minister Kacala in [word indistinct] Rzeszow and Ustrzyki. He is one of the ministers with whom you really can talk, if he has the powers. But it is not always he is given powers, since he is only a minister and not premier or president yet. But, really, he is one of the more honest people as far as my own personal experience from Ustrzyki and Rzeszow is concerned. Here -- I do not know, I did not attend the local talks. But there he showed resilience, above all. He really got it here, he was sworn at, called names -- well, I could not take it and flagged, but he took it all. Of course, he [words indistinct] but he lasted. Moreover, in Ustrzyki conditions were such that our seats were made of rough planks -- you could not even sit on them! Of course there was no bathrooms nor toilets there -- sweet nothing. Everyone relieved himself behind the fence. But he lasted, I do not know, I think 3-4 days. So he showed outstanding resilience. That is why such people must be appreciated and we do have a few such people. Of course, maybe there are not many such people there. We will have to see how many, take a look at them.

Today our struggle is for great goals. Let us not indulge in petty conflicts, because tomorrow we will fight with each other for one cigarette. Today I can see we have 65 flashpoints. I do not anymore know where to go and whom to (?lecture). This is bad. [end recording]

[Announcer] Lech Walesa was asked to evaluate the desecration of graves and monuments in honor of Soviet soldiers.

[Begin Walesa recording] Ladies and gentlemen, I have already said in Zyrardow that someone really wants to get us in trouble. Someone wishes to collect enough arguments so that our taps can be turned off. This is the point someone is concerned with. After all, if we burn all the things and throw out all the things which we now look upon through glasses and so forth [as heard] we will then say: Listen, why should we deliver this oil here [words indistinct]. Let us remember that today when we are so dependent, if this attempt succeeds, we shall not manage to deliver the crops because, devil take it, there are very few motor vehicles operating and a very, very small number arrive from there.

At the same time, we have no dollars, we have nothing to make purchases with. [words indistinct] someone is interested in having all the aces so that the taps can simply be turned off. Then we shall have fighting -- the end -- because we have [word indistinct] crops, flour and bread and so on will not be delivered.

That is why you should say today: It is forbidden. We have enough respect to know that this man, who came here from the other side of the Bug River or wherever, who perished here, had a family, a wife, children. He was not guilty. Someone else is guilty, someone who is trying to frame us, someone who governs us badly, steals from us and so on -- but not he who really perished here. So, this is not in keeping with our spirit and it is not us who is doing it. [end recording]

Walesa Speaks at Zyrardow

AU301520 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Oct 81 p 2

[C.R. report on Lech Walesa speech at the Zyrardow flax plant -- date not given]

[Text] Lech Walesa, Solidarity chairman, came to Zyrardow on the 15th day of the Zyrardow strike, and met in the flax plant with the plant's workforce and with delegations from other Zyrardow plants on strike.

There were hundreds and hundreds of workers in the square surrounded by plant shops. Lech Walesa was welcomed by the strains of the strike song sung by a choir and featuring the words "Solidarity will win." L. Walesa spoke for some minutes, stressing the authorities' failure to honor the agreements they had signed, saying that Solidarity was being subjected to completely unjustified attacks and asserting that there was no reason why many goods were in short supply, that the authorities were inefficient and that not much in their conduct had changed.

He said, inter alia: "It is bad that protests are being made all over the country under various pretexts. As you probably notice, today we are nearing the final state of this showdown that will determine that either we will be victorious and Poland will be what we want it to be, or they will defeat us."

Having discussed the incomprehensible -- in his view -- reasons for market shortages, he continued: "This is activity calculated to finish us off mentally, to set us at loggerheads and to turn society against Solidarity...."

A moment later he added: "The time has come when we have to say: Let us be done with fine slogans. We want to eat and we will take from the one who gives. We will value those friends who really do not turn off the faucets."

Further, L. Walesa announced that Solidarity would control selected spheres of production and distribution, but added: "I am for serious talks, during which we will tell each other that either we march together and help the people who have placed their trust in us, or we will help ourselves, and we thank you for your persevering efforts in strangling people and initiative."

L. Walesa said that there were difficulties with food, especially meat, but he conceded that it was possible to foresee them and that now the "peasants cannot plaster the walls with banknotes because there is also a shortage of glue."

As for the authorities of the Polish People's Republic, L. Walesa conceded that "we have been gentlemen in any case and he said: We do not aim at overthrowing this government and socialism. We want it to be ours and to serve us. If they continue to crush us and lie to us then we will have to find another way out...."

L. Walesa also told the meeting that "it is necessary to at last reveal the concept we have discussed in various sources and abroad...." However, L. Walesa did not tell us what that concept was in specific terms.

Answering questions, L. Walesa spoke inter alia about "settling" the issue of radio and television in the same way as Solidarity publications obviate censorship, about setting up Solidarity local operational groups, about the unnecessary fear of the threat of conflicts, which... should be viewed with humor....

The meeting ended with the decision to continue the strike to the moment when at least two demands are settled, improved supplies for Zyrardow and the payment of full wages for the period of the strike.

Walesa Scored for Speech

AU301524 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Oct 81 p 2

[Disk commentary on L. Walesa speech at the Zyrardow flax plant]

[Text] Our correspondent C.R. reported on Lech Walesa's meeting with Zyrardow workers and quoted him from a tape recording. These quotations are bound to arouse concern and thought. For the first time, the Solidarity chairman, whose numerous controversial statements are widely known, came out so decidedly against the government and people's power -- against those whom he has so far considered partners, although he has often been in the minority on this score among Solidarity leaders'.

Lech Walesa said that we were nearing the final state of the showdown -- that either we will win or will be defeated. We have the right to ask Mr Chairman: "Who will win? Who will defeat whom? We have the right to draw Lech Walesa's attention to the fact that his words can be read quite unambiguously: The time of confrontation has arrived. If so, then the question is: Confrontation with whom and in whose interest? Is that just the concept that has been discussed in various sources and abroad?

It would be good that -- sounding various views and counsels -- the chairman of the trade union that affiliates millions and millions of members and legally functions in socialist Poland should discuss this first of all with the workers class and the working people. The worker needs no confrontation with the workers' government, and no one will accept such confrontation. This should be especially clear to Lech Walesa, who hails from the workers class and should know its moods, although he has played a new role in the past few months.

That is why we think that in Zyrardow the Solidarity chairman did not take that road. Instead of quenching the harmful hotbeds of strikes -- as he has done many times -- he is, perhaps unintentionally, exacerbating social moods.

Solidarity Views 28 Oct Strike

LD310950 Warsaw PAP in English 0810 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Oct (PAP) -- Press spokesman for Solidarnosc National Commission has published a communique calling Wednesday's strike "a success of the union and a telling proof of the society's unity." The National Commission's Presidium expresses gratitude to the strikers for the fact that "they considered the interest of the working people to be the supreme good, which decided about their attitude as members of the society."

According to the Solidarnosc spokesman, results of the Wednesday strike "will be the basis for launching dialogue between the authorities and the society so that commonly approved steps are taken in order to improve the conditions of everyday life, overcome the crisis, conduct an economic reform and democratize life in the country."

Lech Walesa has authorized me to say he hopes that the protest strike of 28 Oct. was the last instance when a strike of this type was necessary, the spokesman said.

At 13:00 hrs. on 28 Oct. the vast majority of local protest actions came to an end, the communique said. The National Commission's Presidium hopes in the future intentions to stage local protest actions will always be consulted with the National Commission or its Presidium. This will allow for the best choice of methods to attain the goals of union members.

Work Urged 27 Oct

AU301448 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Oct 81 p 1

[Jerzy Salecki commentary: "Shall We Act Against Ourselves?" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] EVEN 6 MONTHS AGO, SOLIDARITY LEADERS SPOKE ABOUT STRIKES AS AN "ULTIMATE WEAPON" WHICH COULD BE USED ONLY UNDER EXCEPTIONAL CONDITIONS, AFTER EXHAUSTING ALL POSSIBILITIES TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE AUTHORITIES. TODAY THEY BRANDISH STRIKE PROCLAMATIONS TOO FREQUENTLY, USING BETTER OR POORER PRETEXTS, OR THEY BLAME EVERYTHING ON THE IMPULSIVENESS OF THE TRADE UNION COMMUNITY. IN THAT INTERPRETATION, THE STRIKE IS SUPPOSED TO EASE TENSIONS, BE A SORT OF SAFETY VALVE, A LESSE^R EVIL. WHAT CONFUSING ARGUMENTS!

One way or another, the past months proved regional Solidarity organizations to be efficient and disciplined each time the National Consultative Commission -- now the Solidarity National Commission [KK] -- called for a strike. The very same union bodies ignored Gdansk appeals for the opposite activities: Whoever is able to draw conclusions from the real conditions most probably has no illusions about the outcome of the National Commission's decision to call, on the one hand, for a nationwide 1-hour strike, and on the other, to call on regions and enterprises "to put an end to protest actions and to join in the nationwide action." To join in? But certainly yes! But to end the strikes -- why should we? After all, local organizations are, under the statutes, "self-governing" and "independent," and have what union leaders like to term as their own identity.

In addition to the fatal economic effects, the strike euphoria has devastated minds in society. Strikes have become trivial. Half a year ago, they were regarded as an event, as something exceptional, but now many people consider them a "common" element of public life. The public has become "used" to strikes, because -- notwithstanding the difficulties which are frequently mounting -- people go on living somehow. Such a state of affairs and lack of imagination imply the conviction that the finale which is depriving the economists of sleep -- the final breakdown in our economy -- is simply impossible. And since there is no danger of a crash, one can continue chastising the authorities with impunity.

While substantiating the decision on the 1-hour strike Wednesday, the Solidarity National Commission exposed the errors committed by the "ruling party," and the "chaotic nature" of the activities of the state authorities. The decent strike on 28 October should be an antithesis to that "chaos." Actually, it should be a prelude to the so-called active strike on a larger scale and with effects significantly more painful for the economy. The strike will take place if the authorities do not "immediately" meet the following four demands:

ONE: Moves making it possible to increase livestock procurements. The question arises: What can the government do? While infinitely increasing prices, it widens the inflationary gap. To pay for livestock in goods? But where should one look for them, if the strikes reduce the production of manufactured goods even more?

Here one may wonder why Solidarity itself failed to take the initiative calling on Rural Solidarity for a patriotic attitude. The latter allegedly numbers 2 million farmers, including those who have recently ceased to deliver livestock to the state, despite the increased procurement prices. The peasants are waiting for coal. All right, but it is not the government who is supposed to supply coal, but the miners, provided that...Solidarity does not block certain decisions.

DEMAND TWO: To make rationed meat supplies uniform all over the country. The government is taking steps in this field, but they hardly will produce effects overnight. If livestock procurements had proceeded smoothly in every voivodship, there would have been no problems with rationed supplies, as Minister Z. Lakomiec said recently.

DEMAND THREE: Detentions among "union figures." The decision does not say anything about the fact that those detentions were a result of activity which was alien to a trade union and virtually defied the law. No one has heard about the arrests of Solidarity figures for the performance of their trade union functions, trade union duties. There must be no immunity for anybody acting against the valid law. This is what all of us were recently clamoring for.

DEMAND FOUR: As far as special prerogatives for the public council for the national economy and for the union's control organs are concerned, they have been highlighted before, in the statements issued by the government spokesman.

What is the matter then? The authorities are aware that people's lives are difficult. But the authorities are helpless to offer anything from an empty basket. Deep freezers and meat processing enterprises are empty. Also increasingly empty are shelves in stores dealing in manufactured goods. According to an old Polish proverb, "no pains, no gains." A significant part of the public can see that, and what it is waiting for is the atmosphere of work, and not for constant disturbances of it. On the other hand, those who join in the strike would be well advised to spend the striking hour thinking about the wisdom which our ancestors conveyed in the just quoted proverb.

Opinion Poll Results

LD302124 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] In connection with the decision of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum that the PZPR deputies would appear in the Sejm with a proposal for a law suspending the right to strike for a certain period, Polish Radio and Television public opinion research center has carried out a poll on this subject. It was carried out in the entire country among all social and professional classes, political and union groupings. In reply to the question: Would it be correct for the Sejm to issue a law banning all strikes for a certain period, or not? The following answers were obtained: 67 percent recognized it to be correct; 23 percent as incorrect; and 10 percent had no definite opinion. The poll was carried out 26-27 October, that is on the eve of the general warning strike proclaimed by Solidarity.

STATE TRANSPORT SOLIDARITY SIGNS AGREEMENT

LD301208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] The third round of talks between the government commission led by the minister of transportation, and the interregional Consultative Commission of the State Motor Transportation NSZZ Solidarity has been concluded in Krakow. An agreement was signed which defines the operation of the State Motor Transportation organization as self-managing, independent and self-financing enterprises.

The present associations will be liquidated on 1 January next year.

WALESA CANCELS CANADA TRIP DUE TO DEVELOPMENTS

LD302040 Montreal Domestic Service in English 1900 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] In Ottawa it has been announced that the Solidarity leader, Lech Walesa, had canceled a trip to Canada that was scheduled for mid-November. Mr. Walesa says in a telegram to Canadian labor officials that developments in Poland do not permit him to leave.

Meanwhile, Radio Canada International has learned that Solidarity is closing its office in New York City today. The office was opened last month to inform the North American media of developments in Poland.

SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL DERIDES 'NEW TARGOWICA'

PM021127 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 12 Oct 81 pp 1-2

[Reprint of speech delivered at Pilsudski Mound by S. Kusia as carried by Malopolska regional executive bulletin AKTUALNOSCI: "Publications of This Kind Are Harmful to Poland and Certainly to Solidarity."]

[Excerpt] Issue No 25, dated 3 October 1981, of AKTUALNOSCI, which is published by the Malopolska information section, carried an item reporting the speech delivered by the Malopolska region secretary, Stanislaw Kusia, at the Pilsudski Mound during the celebrations on the eve of the anniversary of the end of the final battle of the September campaign. We quote the item without abridgement:

"Exactly 42 years ago the republic's last redoubt, the final fragment of Poland's shattered shield, was at its last gasp. The ammunition of the decimated divisions grouped under General Kleeberg was running out. The battle was lost. The young state perished. But although it had been brought to bay by two age-old enemies and had been betrayed by its allies, the courageous Polish Army did not surrender. The battle was lost but the struggle for freedom had not ended. It never did end and it continues to this day.

"The Polish soldier, and the entire people, taught by J. Pilsudski that 'to be conquered but not to surrender is a victory,' fought with, and even without, arms on all fronts in regular units, as partisans and also in the underground movement. This magnificent attitude displayed by the people resulted in the fact that Poland, even though its borders had been mutilated and its sovereignty curtailed, was never entirely erased from the map. Unfortunately, this Poland never became a true fatherland for the Poles; a period of gradual, systematic destruction of the nation, in which methods derived from the most barbaric nations were used, set in. A new Targowica [reference to the Russian-backed Targowica Confederation of 1792] declared an insidious war against its own people. These criminals, tyrants and insane oppressors wanted to deprive us of our fatherland for base and selfish aims. It now seemed that the vileness of Moscow would finish off that which the arrogance of the Teutonic knights had not achieved.

"The exhausted people, brought to their knees, were unable for a lengthy period to regain their dignity but at last they said 'No!' again. And it transpired, as one of the proudest Polish songs proclaimed, that 'where there is a will, there is a way.' It has transpired that the enemy, although ruthless, cruel and criminal, is unable to withstand the universal, concerted drive of the workers who have been starving for a long time, of peasants deprived of the means for proper farming, and of benumbed and cowed officials cursing a fate that offers no prospects. Once again, the Polish national instinct has manifested itself. In a short time the arrogant and unbridled Targowica has lost all semblance of greatness and power. Its helplessness and corruption have been revealed in the face of the citizens' determined and sensible attitude. The only thing left for the Targowica is to rely, as in the past, on foreign bayonets...and even though the struggle has only just flared up anew, and although we realize that many hardships and sacrifices face us, hope has again dawned upon us -- a hope and faith in a renewed, independent fatherland that is truly our own, in a sunny Polish sky over the Vistula. And although the struggle has flared up anew, we can already see that a new page in history is again being turned, that a great chance lies before us, that perhaps at last Polish children will no longer be born slaves but heirs to, and master of, their own country. And although the struggle has only just flared up we can see already, and we know, that the days of the Targowica are numbered."

KURON INTERVIEWED ON SITUATION, FUTURE

PM301011 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 27 Oct 81 p 15

[Stefano Malatesta undated interview in Warsaw with Polish oppositionist Jacek Kuron: "If Poles Voted Today the Communist Party Would Win Only 3 Percent"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 26 Oct -- [Question] This crisis is unprecedented in peacetime Europe: What are its causes?

[Answer] The main reason lies in the totalitarian system that has hitherto crushed Poland, the absurd economic mechanisms and an incompetent and stupid bureaucracy. In the countries with so-called real socialism, crises are not the exception but the rule -- if not now, then tomorrow. In general, the more industrialized a country, the more complex its system of economic relations, the sooner the collapse will occur. It is no coincidence that the worst-hit countries in Eastern Europe have been Czechoslovakia and Poland. But where there is a simpler, more basic, agricultural economy, the negative effects of the system are relatively slow to emerge.

Only Two Alternatives

[Question] But East Germany -- a highly industrialized country -- is not experiencing an economic crisis.

[Answer] It was the first to experience one, in 1953. Now East Germany is regarded as the Soviet bloc's showcase and the utmost is done to help it maintain a certain standard. Moreover in Poland, apart from a more general reason for the crisis, there is also a more immediate cause. When in a highly centralized system such as a railroad network nine trains continue to follow instructions from the network controller but the 10th train decides its own timetables, chaos results. This is what has happened in Poland. Having begun with Solidarity, the desire for social emancipation and freedom has spread to the cooperatives, schools, universities and agriculture: All areas of political life have been affected by it. Former party First Secretary Kania recently cited my example of the trains. Clearly as far as he is concerned the conduct of the 10th train is entirely negative. In my opinion, however, it is entirely positive. The present chaos is the price we are paying to transform a totalitarian system into a democratic system.

[Question] Could you give some examples of this chaos?

[Answer] Until a few months ago every economic program was drawn up by the center and then sent to the individual factories for discussion by the particular sector concerned. The workers discussed them and often rejected them, but this counted for nothing; the consultation was a formality and the orders from above were followed. Then the reform came. The factories were given the opportunity to manage themselves to some extent and the government believed that the workers, because of their discipline, would have acted as before and accepted the imposition. Instead, many factories began to go their own way and produce in whatever way and however much they wanted. Had there been a free market system in Poland, things would have leveled out to some extent. Because of the centralized system, it was chaos.

Everyone can see that it is an exceptional crisis requiring exceptional forms of intervention. Meanwhile, pending a general political and economic transformation, pressing measures can be taken to bridge the most gaping holes. For instance, the peasants have refused to sell their produce in exchange for worthless paper and are tending to become entrenched in a purely survival economy, maybe even hiding their produce. We should start to pay them with a different kind of money -- guarantees that in a year's time at the most they can have a tractor, agricultural machinery, fertilizers and so forth. In the short term this would be a considerable step forward; this is what Solidarity is demanding and it is one of the reasons for the planned 1-hour strike.

[Question] The alternative to the totalitarian system, which you accuse of having brought Poland to the brink of collapse, is a free parliamentary system. Is this what the Poles demand?

[Answer] There are only two possible paths in Poland today. The first is a return to the past, to dictatorship -- a backward leap that could only be imposed by the might of the Soviet Union. The second is the realization of a self-managed republic, real social ownership of the means of production. I personally am convinced that this must all be linked in some way with a form of parliamentary democracy -- different, however, from the European democracies. But it is difficult to define its outlines, to make clear outlines of something that is still vague and confused. We are experiencing a real revolution in Poland, perhaps comparable to the 1917 revolution in the Soviet Union, and in revolutions you often live from day to day without knowing exactly where you are going, what the destination will be.

[Question] What is Solidarity demanding?

[Answer] Solidarity is a trade union; it has set itself limits. It does not want power; it is not seeking to take the assembly by storm. Self-management can greatly restrict central power, but it must not eliminate it. Solidarity says to the government and the party: It is you who must open up, reform and realize that the country has changed and has no intention of turning back. If the government and the party fail to take up this advice, confrontation will be inevitable, with the danger of a civil war.

Party No Longer Exists

[Question] What do you believe the party and government will do?

[Answer] This is the point: The party no longer exists because it lacks any system to which to refer, its *raison d'être*. All that exists are factions struggling among themselves and hitherto canceling each other out. The PZPR had its big chance in 1956 when it would certainly have won a free general election. Now, after 25 years of dictatorship, it no longer has any hold on the population and in many cases is hated; it would not win more than 3 percent of the votes in an election. In this situation, which seems almost insoluble, there is only one possibility: that the party split and part of it break away from the old system and shoulder the risk of a democratic evolution. Otherwise, the envisaged national economic committee will have to be formed without the Communist Party.

[Question] The USSR might be prepared to accept free trade unions, the right to strike, the abolition of censorship and democratic elections. But it would never permit the Communist Party to lose its dominant role.

[Answer] In fact the USSR might even swallow that: The PZPR has in fact lost its power in the country. What it really could not accept is Poland's changing camp, its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. This is why the utmost must be done to convince the USSR that nobody has ever envisaged such a change and that any government could not fail to confirm this position. This is all very risky; there are innumerable dangers; we are walking on the brink of the precipice. But it is the only path Poland can now follow.

TEACHERS' UNION SCORES SOLIDARITY DECISIONS

AU301530 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] PAP -- The main administration of the Polish Teachers' Union sent an open letter to PAP addressed to the Solidarity National Commission. The letter states, inter alia:

Watching with enormous tension and concern the development of the country's social and economic situation, we are shocked to see how all the sides to the conflict that is tearing Poland apart continue to accuse and threaten one another and to engage in activities that endanger our national existence, instead of promoting negotiations and specific work for the benefit of all of us.

Solidarity, the letter continues, which embodies whatever we call briefly the process of renewal and constitutes a social movement, which enjoys the affection and support of the people other than just Solidarity members, should conduct itself with particular wisdom and prudence, if only for the reason that it is one of the more serious forces that helps determine the country's fate and that bears responsibility for it.

Unfortunately, the letter states, the Solidarity National Commission's decisions at its session on 22 and 23 October do not meet with our support. We cannot offer our support to the 1-hour unconditional general strike to be held on 28 October. We cannot offer our support to the Solidarity demands concerning the appointment of the social council of the national economy, because you think that only your trade union should represent the entire trade union movement to the exclusion of other trade unions, including the almost 500,000 intelligentsia members of the Polish Teachers' Union.

Nor can we agree to the position, the letter continues, that states that demands "for energetic action to make increased procurement of livestock possible" should be addressed to the power apparatus only. Such a demand should also be addressed to the agricultural trade unions and to the workforces in those factories that produce farm supplies.

It is with concern, the letter states, that we note that your union seems to reserve for itself the right to represent all the people, ignoring and failing outright to see the activities and existence of other trade unions. This conduct cannot favor the unification of all social forces wishing to gear themselves to the process of renewal begun by the Polish workers class.

Prompted by its sincere resolve to cooperate -- this resolve has been declared in various forms and proved by specific activities -- we wish that you should receive our doubts and thoughts with the necessary attention, the letter states in conclusion.

In the face of yet another wave of social tension and of an increase in confrontation moods, the PZPR committee in the Polish Academy of Sciences appealed to all academy employees to express their active support for the line of dialogue and accord, which is the only political line consistent with the interests of all the people. The committee asked members of Solidarity, the Polish Teachers' Union and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth to join party members and not participate in the strike proclaimed for 28 October.

UNITY FRONT EXECUTIVE MEETS ON DISARMAMENT

Ceausescu Chairs Meeting

AU302046 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], a meeting took place on October 30 of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

Participating in the meeting were also the heads of the component organizations of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

Nicolae Ceausescu, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, presented the main questions of the current international situation, the scope and serious dangers spe^lt at the fate of mankind by the arms race and suggested the beginning of large mass actions of working people in defense of the cause of peace, for the expression of their firm attitude against the production and emplacement of medium-range missiles and for the removal of the existing ones, against the neutron bomb, for the calling of a conference on disarmament and confidence in Europe and the world over.

Stressing that the whole policy of our party and state is placed at the service of the ideals of peace, collaboration and understanding among nations, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that, given the special importance which the RCP, Romania attach to the people's role in building its own history, its own destiny, in running the socio-economic life, the whole society, in attaining the general desideria after progress and peace of mankind, an ever larger commitment and participation of the people's mass are necessary in the struggle for removing the danger of a new world war, for international collaboration, security and peace.

In this spirit, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania pointed out that the organization and unfolding of large mass actions -- meetings, demonstrations, peace marches -- will allow for the strong affirmation of the Romanian people's will of peace, as a contribution to the big movement now taking place the world over for disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, in view of strengthening international confidence and security, defending the freedom and independence of all peoples, detente and collaboration internationally.

Highlighting the important role incumbent upon the socialist countries, the democratic, progressive, realistic forces, all those who love life and freedom, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the need for the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front to address -- on behalf of the entire Romanian people -- to the kindred organizations in other countries for strengthening the solidarity and unity of action of the peoples in inducing the governments, the international organizations to take undelayed action for a passage to complete, efficient measures for halting the arms race, for lasting peace the world over.

Being highly appreciative of the policy of peace, collaboration and understanding among peoples, consistently promoted by Socialist Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu, the participants in the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of the SDUF unanimously approved the proposal to organize in Romania a large drive of actions of the broad masses of the people in defending man's most sacred right -- the right to live, to lead a free and dignified life, to building a better future.

Then, representatives of component SDUF organizations took the floor.

The participants unanimously decided to launch an appeal to all component SDUF organizations, to all working people, irrespective of nationality, to the Romanian people, and, at the same time, to all the democratic organizations from Europe and America and from other zones of the world to act together, now, when it is not too late, for safeguarding civilization, the life of future generations, for guaranteeing the free and independent development of each nation.

SDUF Appeal for Disarmament

AU311940 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 31 Oct 81

["Appeal for Disarmament and Peace of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front of the Socialist Republic of Romania" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 31 Oct (AGERPRES) -- The Executive Bureau of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], met in Bucharest on October 30, 1981; unanimously espoused the assessments and considerations of the country's President Nicolae Ceausescu on the current international situation, the ways of overcoming the serious issues confronting mankind, just as the proposals regarding the organization of wide-scope mass political actions in our country which should allow for the powerful assertion of the Romanian people's will of peace, of the determination of the entire socialist nation to unflinchingly work against the escalation of the arms race, for general disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for security, collaboration and peace in the world.

The SDUF National Council is highly appreciative of President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, inspired by a lofty care and responsibility for the life and quiet of the peoples, for the destinies of human civilization, for the building of a world of friendship and peaceful collaboration among all the nations. We consider that this fresh and important initiative is meant to mobilize, to a greater extent, the forces of the people to implement the principled, constructive policy Socialist Romania, the country's president, promote in the international arena, to enhancing our people's contribution to the great struggle of the advanced, progressive forces, of the broad masses of people everywhere, who are resolved to defend their quiet, peaceful work, life, freedom and independence.

Socialist Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu enjoy a well-deserved prestige in the world for the consistency and determination with which they militate for the liquidation of the factors of tension and conflict from international life, for the settlement of the complex issues of the present-day world in concordance with the vital interests and aspirations of the peoples. The numerous concrete proposals and initiatives of our country, of President Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the cessation of the arms race, the passage to practical measures of reducing military expenditures, effectives and armaments, of safeguarding peoples' freedom and independence, seriously threatened by the present course of world life, have had a far-reaching echo and have been fully approved by international public opinion. The adoption of such measures, the promotion of this policy are the only alternatives to a devastating war, are prerequisites for establishing a climate of understanding, security, collaboration and peace.

Starting from these assessments, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front calls on all its component organizations; on the working people all over the country -- workers, peasants, intellectuals, men and women, young and old, all citizens, regardless of nationality -- to have their say within public demonstrations, organize civic rallies, demonstrations, peace marches, demanding the intensification of the actions of all states and peoples for preventing the escalation of the arms race and the increase of military arsenals, for concrete measures of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, for freeing mankind from the nightmare of a new war. This expresses the particular importance our party and state attach to the role of our people -- heroic builder of socialism that consciously makes its own history, shapes a dignified and happy future -- in the elaboration and promotion of the entire home and foreign policy of the country, in running all the fields of social life, the entire society.

The Romanian people is aware that the attainment of its aspirations for building the most humane and just system -- communism -- and of all peoples' aspirations after welfare and progress are vitally conditioned by the removal of the danger of war, by the establishment of a lasting peace on our planet.

The cause of peace and collaboration is an inseparable part of the conception on life of our people, of the socialist society we are building, identifies itself with the lofty ideal of socialism and communism.

The Romanian people is aware that in the huge efforts the advanced forces of mankind make today for disarmament, peace and detente, an essential role should be played by the socialist countries which, due to the nature of their system to the ideas that guide them, are organically interested in the liquidation of all acts of international aggression, of all dangers of war, in the safeguarding of the independence and freedom of all peoples, of their sacred right to build their future in quiet and peace, as they wish. The socialist countries, the advanced social forces everywhere have the duty to rally their efforts in order to bar the road to war, to safeguard peace.

The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front of Romania particularly appreciates and regards with deep empathy the broad mass movements taking place in Western European countries against the deployment of further nuclear medium-range missiles on our continent, the manufacture of the neutron bomb and the plans and intentions to escalate the policy of arming. The Romanian people joins the masses of people in those countries, all the nations in the lofty struggle for peace that mirrors the greater role peoples play today in influencing the course of historical evolution. We assert our full solidarity with the other nations in their efforts for removing the dangers threatening their peaceful life and work, their very future, saying -- before it is too late -- a resolute no to war.

We consider that the peace-loving forces everywhere, the peoples must work most energetically to make their governments, parliaments, state leaderships pursue a new, constructive policy pervaded by the highest responsibility for the fate and future of the peoples, of the world peace.

We call on all mass and public organizations, on the masses of people in all the countries of Europe, America, of all the other continents to work in closest unity for attaining the stringent objectives of international security, detente and collaboration.

Let us work for the establishment of a climate in which all the peoples could develop freely and sovereignty, sheltered from any outside immixture or aggression.

Let us rise with all our energy against the policy of continuation of arming, in the interest of peace and quiet on our planet.

Starting from the particularly serious situation created in Europe following the accumulation in this part of the world of a huge arsenal of mass destruction weapons, let us demand with all our energy the cessation of the deployment of medium-range missiles on the continent and the undelayed passage to concrete negotiations in this respect.

Let us say a resolute no to the neutron warhead. Let us firmly rise for outlawing all the mass destruction weapons.

Let us firmly work, together with all the peoples, all the lucid minds on the continent, for avoiding Europe to be destroyed by a nuclear conflagration.

Let us declare with all our energy for the current Madrid meeting to decide the convening of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe.

Let us firmly work for a military balance which should put in danger the security and peace of no country, balance which should not be achieved by increasing armaments but by gradually diminishing and reducing them.

Let us impose the resolute passage to the freezing of military expenditures at the level of 1981 and to the gradual reduction, in the coming years, of the military budgets by at least 10 per cent until 1985.

Let us impose the cessation of any demonstration of force, of military manoeuvres at the borders of other states, of wide-scope manoeuvres, of any actions which could generate tension and mistrust among states.

Let us most firmly demand that the wonderful gains of the human genius, of modern science and technology exclusively serve peace and progress -- and not destruction and war.

Let us closely cooperate to make the promoters of arming give up their dangerous stands, to put a definite end to the policy of arming, of use and threat of force, so that all the litigious questions be solved by negotiations, by peaceful means alone.

Let us do everything possible so that the huge military budget and the funds spent on arming be used for implementing the programmes of socioeconomic development of each and every country, for supporting the peoples in the developing countries in their efforts for progress, for building a more just and better world. Let us do so as the policy of disarmament should contribute to the bridging of the gaps separating the states, to the building of a new economic order -- a prerequisite for peace and progress, for world political and economic stability.

Let us act so that the United Nations organization, the other international organizations and bodies should play a much more active role in rallying and involving all nations in their efforts for peace, disarmament and collaboration among peoples.

Life, all international developments, prove the need for enhancing the peoples' role in the settlement of all questions regarding the peace and progress of mankind, for consolidating their solidarity and cooperation in asserting the policy of detente, peace and national independence. Let us rally our forces, let us cooperate most firmly for stopping the policy of tension and war, for asserting the policy of detente and understanding, peace and international collaboration.

The Socialist Democracy and United Front, in the name of the entire Romanian people, calls on all the democratic organizations, public opinion, on the peoples of all countries to take fresh and ever stronger actions for the cause of peace and disarmament. Let us ensure, through a broad, united movement of all the peace-loving forces, the attainment of all peoples' fundamental right to life, freedom and peace. Let us hamper the outbreak of a new war, let us establish quiet, peace and security on our planet.

The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front expresses its conviction that all the component organizations, all the working people of our homeland, irrespective of nationality, will firmly act, by organizing broad mass actions, for making heard in the world the voice of peace and collaboration of Socialist Romania, the unflinching will of our entire people to make its entire contribution to the attainment of mankind's supreme ideals and aspirations to live in collaboration and understanding, in a world of peace and progress.

BRIEFS

MALAGASY TRADE UNION OFFICIAL -- Bucharest, 27 Oct (AGERPRES) -- On October 26, Cornel Onescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania [GTUCR], received (A. Nrazakanaivo), secretary-general of the General Federation of the Workers' Trade Unions of Madagascar (FISMA), who paid a visit to Romania. Views were exchanged on the occasion regarding the further development of the relations of collaboration between the GTUCR and FISMA and in connection with questions of the International trade union movement. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 27 Oct 81 AU]

POLAND: JARUZELSKI'S PROPOSALS REPORTED

LD010014 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1648 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Polish Sejm (parliament) this afternoon adopted a decision of the nature of an appeal, calling on an end to strikes in the country. The Sejm at the same time confirmed changes in the government proposed by its prime minister, General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The deputies agreed with Prime Minister Jaruzelski's assessments of the problems of the country. Many of them however, viewed the consequences of these problems from a different angle. In the opinion of several deputies, the strikes are only the consequences and not the cause of the state in the country. Urging the elimination of the causes of this situation, the deputies cited the inadequate functioning of the system of state power. They consider that the Polish society's mistrust of the state apparatus is still deep. Poland should, therefore, seek a way out of the situation in the expansion of social basis in the management of the social, political and economic life of the country.

Several deputies condemned the latest incidents involving the desecration of the graves of fallen Soviet soldiers and officers in the final operations for the liberation of Poland in the Second World War, and insisted on actions against such incidents.

The Sejm supported Jaruzelski government's efforts towards gradually improving the situation in the country through the announced reforms.

REPORTAGE ON EIGHTH ALBANIAN PARTY CONGRESS

'Classic Stalinism'

AU312123 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Unattributed commentary on Eighth AWP Congress]

[Summary] The Albanian leadership has launched a propaganda offensive to divert attention from internal problems. The internal difficulties and the resistance to its Stalinist system is being concealed by the Albanian leadership through its nationalist disguise. Following its propaganda among the communist and workers movement throughout the years, particularly against Yugoslavia, Tirana has recently begun to call itself the headquarters or the bastion of the world revolution and a standard-bearer of socialism in the world, thus trying to deceive internal and international public opinion. What are the grounds for Tirana's claim concerning its mission as the center of world revolution? Tirana bases this role on its friendship with the so-called Marxist-Leninist communist parties, so-called genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, so-called reconstituted communist parties and so forth. "Meanwhile, the ideological and political platform of this sickly imagination is, as Tirana puts it, the treasury of Marxism-Leninism implemented in Albania creatively. This, in Albania's theory and practice, is in fact nothing but a form of classic Stalinism in all its forms and tragic consequences." It is therefore not superfluous to remind people about Stalin. In his time, Stalin, through the Comintern and Informburo, tried to transform the communist parties of other countries into spokesmen of his own policies of a strong hand and diktat, including the liquidation, imprisonment and suicide of millions of people. "This practice of imposition is now being continued, practiced and imitated by Tirana."

What are these authoritative parties, which Albania's propaganda is so pompously introducing to its own people as great friends of the AWP and the so-called only socialist country in the world? These parties are nothing more or less than groups of adventurers of one, two or at most some dozen members. These so-called parties represent no one, they have no support among their own people.

Through their leaflets or newspapers, they speak zealously with the voice of Tirana's propaganda, and zealously distribute the leaflets published in Tirana in various foreign languages. Another truth is that these parties represent no serious factor in political life and have no influence in their countries. We might mention one other fact: there are a number of proven cases of certain members of these parties being agents of military-political blocs and of reactionary circles in the world, for whom Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism are only a disguise for other purposes. These groups are precisely propagating and offering to the peoples of the world the doctrines of Stalinism, with all its tragic manifestations: imprisonment, trials, concentration camps, an atmosphere of fear and intimidation and so forth.

What are Tirana's motives in sponsoring these groups? The major aim is to create the illusion among the Albanian people that Albania is supposedly not isolated, but enjoys support and friendship in the world. The Albanian people are perhaps unaware of the fact that the fruits of mass volunteer labor actions of the Albanian youth and the Albanian people are used precisely to finance these so-called groups and their criminal associations. All this sickly phantasy can only be the product of megalomaniac minds.

Hoxha Speech Reported

AU011910 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] The Eighth AWP Congress began in Tirana today. First Secretary Enver Hoxha delivered an introductory report. He described the situation in the country as stable. He did not corroborate this statement with any facts.

In the part of his report dealing with international issues, Enver Hoxha also attacked on this occasion, as he said, revisionists, social imperialists and imperialism. Within this context, Hoxha repeated the well-known attacks on Yugoslavia and supported the thesis of Kosovo as a republic. Falsifying the well-known facts pertaining to the history of relations between Yugoslavia and Albania, Enver Hoxha particularly attacked the decisions of the second AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] session.

With this report, it has been confirmed that Albania has not given up its interference in our country's internal affairs nor its territorial pretensions toward Yugoslavia.

'Unmasking' Foreign Parties

LD021118 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1013 GMT 2 Nov 81

[Text] Pristina, 2 Nov (TANJUG) -- The radio-television (RTV) of Pristina, capital of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo, yesterday evening broadcast a commentary unmasking the character of the so-called foreign parties attending the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, which opened yesterday.

Over the past few years, the commentary stated, Tirana has been proclaiming itself for nothing less but the centre of the world revolution and the only world country developing genuine socialism.

In the aspiration to present itself as the centre of the world revolution, the commentary stated, Tirana relies on parties which it calls "communist", "Marxist-Leninist", "authentic Marxist-Leninist", "restored communist parties", "left communist parties", "parties of labour" and so on. These parties are, however, nothing else but adventurist groups with one, two or ten members at the most.

There are cases of these alleged parties having only one single member who is both the party leader and the "central committee" and who speaks in the "party's" name, an opportunity for which he is given only by Albania's propaganda media, the commentary noted.

In the commentary, RIV Pristina pointed to the numerous examples showing that members of these parties are in fact agents of military-political blocs and reactionary circles in the world, that is, proven enemies of socialism and communism.

Tirana's friendship with the so-called "Marxist-Leninist" parties is designed to create the illusion among the Albanian people that Albania is not isolated in the world, the RTV Pristina commentary stated.

KRAIGHER MAKES STATEMENT ON RETURN FROM CANCUN

LD252054 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text]Ljubljana, 25 Oct (TANJUG) -- Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, returned to Ljubljana from Cancun today. Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and other officials who took part in the meeting of heads of state or government of 22 developed and developing countries held in that Mexican town, arrived with him.

At Brnik Airport, Sergej Kraigher, president of the Presidency, was welcomed and greeted by Viktor Avbelj, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia; Lidija Sentjunc, member of the Council of the Federation; Janez Zemljarić, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia; Joze Globacnik, vice president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia; and other officials of republican organs and Kranj Municipal Assembly.

Replying to questions put to him by Ljubljana radio and television journalists, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, made the following statement.

"We can say that we are satisfied with the results of the Cancun conference. The talks were useful. The statement of the two co-chairmen, which is a true presentation of what we arrived at in the 2 days of strenuous and intensive work, has been released.

It could be said briefly that in Cancun we agreed that the global negotiations on the most important problems of the international economic situation and on the relations between developed and developing countries are necessary and that we must in the shortest possible time arrived at the method of agreement-reaching which will be acceptable to all. On the other hand, it is significant that we also agreed on other problems which must be discussed.

The agreement originated from the general debate and from the discussions on individual thematic fields such as the question of food, increase in agricultural production, the question of industrialization, the question of raw materials, trade and protectionism, energy, financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and other financial problems.

What I believe to be of special significance is the fact that we agreed precisely on these concrete and complex issues, being global issues because each one of them affects the field of other issues. On the other hand, these issues are such as to affect equally all countries, both the developing and the developed, but, of course, each one in its own way. It is precisely this circumstance which demands that global negotiations should take place.

Therefore, the discussion in Cancun has made it possible to arrive at a general agreement on this.

It could be said that the discussion was an open one and concrete, in the spirit of full mutual understanding. We are convinced that this agreement in principle, as well as the more clearly defined attitudes to each one of these four problem areas, will in itself also make for future discussions at the United Nations and its specialized agencies, precisely by this method of work, that is, in a way that is as free as possible from propaganda attempts and general declarative approaches because it will demand from other countries, which are interested in these issues, participation in a concrete manner in the future resolving of these problems."

Replying to the next question, Sergej Kraigher said:

"We also had the opportunity in Cancun to meet prominent statesmen who represented at that gathering their countries and governments. This was also an opportunity to discuss with them the development of bilateral relations and to present our attitudes to individual outstanding issues where they exist in greater detail."

At the end of his statement, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, directed expressions of warm gratitude at Mexico's President Jose Lopez Portillo for the hospitality extended during his stay in Cancun.

APRO-LED HUNGARIAN DELEGATION CONCLUDES VISIT

Talks With Kraigher 30 Oct

LD311030 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1633 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Oct (TANJUG) -- Presidency of Yugoslavia President Sergej Kraigher and Hungarian National Assembly President Antal Aro, who is heading a Hungarian parliamentary delegation on a (?visit) to Yugoslavia, today expressed satisfaction over the successful development of relations between the two countries, stressing the usefulness of political contacts and economic cooperation.

The talks between Sergej Kraigher and Antal Aro were also attended by Assembly of Yugoslavia President Dragoslav Markovic and members of the Hungarian parliamentary delegation.

Antal Aro, who is also a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP) Central Committee, today also conferred with League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency member Aleksandar Grlickov. Aleksandar Grlickov and Antal Aro expressed satisfaction over the successful and stable development of relations and cooperation between the LCY and the HSWP and Yugoslav-Hungarian relations on the whole.

Aleksandar Grlickov and Antal Aro assessed that broad possibilities exist for further development of mutually useful Yugoslav-Hungarian cooperation in all spheres.

Visit Termed 'Successful'

LD301032 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1649 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Oct (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav and Hungarian parliamentary delegations, headed by President of the Assembly of Yugoslavia Dragoslav Markovic and President of the National Assembly of Hungary Antal Aro, noted during their closing talks a positive development of Yugoslav-Hungarian relations. They also noted the two countries' interest in promoting cooperation in all domains.

The visit to Yugoslavia by the Hungarian parliamentary delegation has been assessed as very successful. The head of the Hungarian delegation expressed satisfaction at the friendly and cordial welcome his delegation had received in Yugoslavia.

31 Oct Departure

LD311034 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0944 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Oct (TANJUG) -- A delegation of the Hungarian National Assembly, headed by Assembly President Antal Apro, today ended its official visit to Yugoslavia and returned to Hungary.

During the several-day visit, at the invitation of the Assembly of Yugoslavia, the Hungarian parliamentarians visited the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Serbia and Croatia and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

In the Assembly of Yugoslavia, the Hungarian parliamentary delegation conducted talks on the further promotion of cooperation between the two countries.

COMMENTARY ON LCY'S 'DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM'

AU301336 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 81 p 3

[Ivan Torov article: "In Connection With Certain Discussions on Topicality of Democratic Centralism in the LCY Today: The Majority's Will -- Law for All"]

[Excerpts] The closer the 12th LCY Congress approaches, the more discussions there are on the basic character of this greatest meeting of Yugoslav communists, the implementation of their leading ideopolitical role in society, particularly the extent to which the League of Communists is able to "cope" with the current unfavorable social situation which is gaining both in haste and force. It is quite understandable that this is the case because the League of Communists is expected to provide answers to many questions that we have been discussing so much recently.

Naturally, it is not difficult to guess that these discussions deal with democratic centralism, this basic law of the party's internal life, work and behavior.

Those who carefully follow discussions on these problems will probably remember the recent polemics in the press and in some speeches at meetings where the thesis was again launched "that it is impossible that one system of relations should rule in society and another in the LCY. People who hold the view that we have a self-managing system of relations in society say it is also necessary to encourage and develop such relations in the League of Communists."

What follows after (this thesis) is an appropriate proposal: democratic centralism should continue to remain the valid principle, but only in the republican and provincial organizations of the League of Communists, while accords and agreements should apply for the LCY Presidium and Central Committee. This means that the system of self-managing accords and agreements should be added to democratic centralism.

It is not difficult to realize where this would lead. It is necessary to recall developments in certain of our republics a decade ago when a federal national concept of the LCY came to the surface with full force, a concept of realizing democratic centralism which would make possible the independence of the republican parties and their linkage in a so-called confederation or federation of parties. The view is spreading that a real democratic centralism, a democratic centralism which is valid in the LCY, would in fact lead -- due to the numerical strength of members -- to a majority of one republican over another....

We have witnessed brutal consequences of such deviations in the League of Communists.

The latest counterrevolutionary developments in Kosovo as well as increasingly more expressed republican-provincial nationalism and isolation have convinced us that the specters of the past are being resurrected.

Along with the thesis about a "withering away of the party too", demands for an unrestricted right of the minority in the League of Communists also exist, that is that every member of the League of Communists should be enabled to retain, in addition to the majority decision, the right to implement his stand in practice, too, and not just the majority decision. Thus "the greatest possible level of democracy in the League of Communists would be achieved."

The introduction of "free-lance" and "unrestricted democracy" for every member of the League of Communists would essentially lead to pushing the League of Communists away from political and self-managing decisionmaking and away from responsibility for class character and society's fate. For this reason the question arises as to what would then remain of responsibility and discipline if a member of the League of Communists advocated and adopted one position in the organization or in the organ of the League of Communists, while as a self-manager he implemented another position, most frequently his own. A legalization of this minority right would unavoidably lead to abandoning democratic centralism, demolishing and destroying the ideological and action unity of the League of Communists and making the League of Communists an ordinary appendage to a spontaneous expression of self-managing interests.

It is high time that it become clear to everyone that common will must become the law of internal life of the organization of the League of Communists, a common will which must be respected by all, irrespective of what they may think privately as individuals, groups or minorities. Being a voluntary member of the League of Communists does not mean that a member of the League of Communists has thus simultaneously obtained the "right" to behave as he wishes, rather than as decided by the majority. In implementing decisions, voluntarism ceases and party obligations begin.

VJESNIK COMMENTARY EXAMINES BISHOPS' STATEMENT

LD311732 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 31 Oct 81

[VJESNIK 1 November commentary by Pero Pletikosa, VJESNIK chief and executive editor, under the headline: "Statements Which Are Not in the Least Holy"]

[Text] Zagreb, 31 Oct (TANJUG) -- If we went by the statement issued by the bishops of Yugoslavia at their regular autumn session of the bishops' conference on 8 October and by their statement of 30 April this year, antireligious propaganda is raging in Yugoslavia and the merciless and unprecedented war is being waged against church and religion and thus also against the freedom of conscience and thought in general. This merciless war -- as one can deduce from the above statements, though they do not say so explicitly -- is being waged by our socialist self-managing community. When they assert that "Marxist atheism" is presented in schools as "the only complete scientific view of the world," they maliciously misinterpret the basic idea of our education, which is not grounded in Marxist atheism but in the Marxist scientific view of the world. The bishops are well aware of the difference!

Anyway, they resort (by accident?) to definitions from the well-known anticommunist propaganda arsenals in order first to compromise the LCY and then to question its role in our society, which conceals a demand for a revision of the constitution because it is the constitution which, among other things, establishes the role and position of the League of Communists in our community.

Now we reach the crucial questions: May the bishops' conference act in this way? Does it, by acting in this way, exceed the limits of religious activity? The answer is clear and unambiguous: by acting in this way, by raising these questions, the bishops of Yugoslavia are acting politically, which is to say outside the constitutional limits. We know from our recent history what this means and where it leads.

We must also ask in whose name and on whose behalf the bishops are acting. Is it in the name of believers? Let us recall that these believers took part on an equal footing in the public constitutional debate from before the promulgation of the constitution in 1974 up to the recent constitutional changes. It is evident that those believers are still taking part today as citizens and workers in the complex and decisive battle for stabilization and that no one is preventing them from doing so, just as no one prevents them from taking part in religious rites. Believers are equal members of our socialist self-managing society and know how to distinguish religious activity from clericalism and the politicization of the church.

This is why we cannot pass without comment over the fact that the bishops are making themselves heard with such intolerance and militancy just at the time when our society is exerting enormous efforts to stabilize the economy. It is as if they have joined the chorus of those who feel that our society's difficulties have assumed such proportions that it is impossible to open up the prospect of further development by surmounting them. This is the chorus of those who think that the moment has come to change the character of the social order in our country. The best reply to this is the general people's front of the struggle for stabilization in which all are taking part, regardless of their religious loyalties. The bishops keep telling us that believers are in a position of inequality and that they are being persecuted, seeking to create the idea of lawlessness in this country in which one may make groundless attacks on "religious officials and any other persons," without their being able to defend themselves.

There are no longer merely statements by individual church dignitaries alone or statements restricted to our own republic, which has so far been the main target but come from the Bishops of Yugoslavia. The accusations and demands made in their statement in such political terms, their far-reaching and equally unacceptable utterances, and their tone and contents constitute a political act and thus expose the bishops' approach to Yugoslavia. This is the position of a political factor, of an equal of the League of Communists and, in their view, this is the basis on which relations between the state and the Catholic church in Yugoslavia should continue to develop. Moreover, they are now going further than equality and, by claiming the right to pronounce the "moral judgement," the bishops of Yugoslavia claim the position of a supranational factor, the role of an arbiter over society. In this way, among other things, they not only champion dogmatism and the most reactionary views of the world but are also demanding a privileged position for the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia (but always only for themselves and "their" believers), which runs directly counter to the foundations of the social system and in particular to the principles of equality in our multinational community. The demand for a privileged position for the Catholic Church combined with the already well-known thesis about individual churches' identity with individual nations, according to which the church is the representative of the nation, raises the possibility of demands for the privileged position of a nation and thereby for a platform for the growth of nationalism and fomenting of the nationalist passions, in which respect we are particularly sensitive, with good reason.

In our system, both in relations between the religious communities and in intranational relations, no one can in any way be more important, valuable or responsible because he is more numerous or for any other reason.

Consequently, no religious community can enjoy a different status on account of the number of its believers. Attempts to establish any other relations can only be characterized as counterrevolution. Regrettably, we cannot shake off the impression that it was on this and similar foundations that church dignitaries had tried to build their platform for action.

Our society has clearly and unambiguously built the foundations of the relations between the state and the religious communities, the foundations on which the position of the latter is based. This is a permanent orientation because it stems from the very essence of socialist self-management. This must also be borne in mind by those who in any way and for any reason try to undermine these relations and cause alarm, anxiety and mistrust.

FEDERAL COUNCIL DISCUSSES CHURCH ACTIVITIES

AU301645 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] At its session today which was presided over by Milos Minic, the Federal Social Council for International Relations discussed the international aspects of activities of the religious communities in our country. Dragan Petrovic reports on the session:

Recently, under the impact of contemporary developments in the world, the participation of churches in political actions has become increasingly noticeable. Opening and adapting themselves to new circumstances, the churches are building their strategies to strengthen their own positions. All religious communities in our country are engaged in organized and increasingly intensive actions in relation to the outside world. An intensified interest of foreign church and political factors in the activities of Yugoslavia's religious communities has also been noticed. The churches' cooperation with and opening toward the world are a completely normal phenomenon as long as they are kept within the framework of religious issues.

But, as was stated at today's session of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, our society cannot regard passively the actions of churches outside that framework and their engagement in political spheres, which is contrary to the constitutional position of churches in our country. Some communities in our country fail to grasp the entire complex nature of this activity of churches, and the forum method of approaching the churches still continues to be followed. But what is needed is the broadest democratic approach. These questions of the activities of churches must become a component part of the work in the field, in the basic organizations. In this connection all abuses of religion for political purposes must be consistently stamped out, but at the same time all sectarianism, according to which believers cannot be builders of our self-managing socialist society, must also be consistently suppressed.

It was also stated in the discussion at the session that the individuals may be differentiated according to the results of their work and their attitude toward work, but not according to their religious beliefs.

In activities both within the country and in relation to the outside world, a section of the clergy is correctly performing their duties. But unfortunately there are also those who are linking up with hostile emigre groups. It is a normal thing to expect the church organs to dissociate themselves from that kind of behavior. In the past 35 years, the highest leaderships of the 40 religious communities in our country have been able to convince themselves that there have been no problems in relations between church and state as long as the church acted within the framework of the freedoms guaranteed by the constitution.

Therefore it is primarily their duty to orient the work of religious communities in this direction. Any action outside that framework and any bypassing of the constitutional position of churches has resulted and will continue to result in problems, in the face of which our self-managing socialist society cannot remain passive.

KOSOVO COMMUNISTS ON TASKS IN UPCOMING ELECTIONS

LD272258 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] Pristina 27 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Kosovo League of Communists must emerge ideologically, organizationally and, with respect to its cadres, stronger and more capable from the upcoming elections in order that it might come to grips with all the economic and political problems and difficulties. The lessons learned from the work so far -- work which had contributed considerably to the escalation of enemy and counterrevolutionary activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism -- will become more incisive during the elections and will represent an exceptional school for Kosovo communists to re-examine critically and assess correctly their own work and practice and to set in train the process for a more mobile and efficient implementation of the LCY's leading role.

These assessments were made at today's consultative meeting on the tasks of the Kosovo League of Communists in the upcoming elections which was held at the Provincial Committee with presidents of municipal conferences and secretaries of municipal committees of the League of Communists.

Speaking about these tasks, Petar Kostic, secretary of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, stressed in his introductory remarks that the point of departure of the entire commitment of all basic League of Communist organizations in the province must be the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee's action program in the struggle against enemy and counterrevolutionary forces and for the stabilization of the situation as a whole. In the implementation of this program there must be no retreat or indecisiveness of any kind. Kostic said that at the same time the struggle against all phenomena of bureaucratic, as well as of anarcho-liberalist behaviour must be more severe and that Kosovo communists must be particularly involved in strengthening togetherness, mutual trust, brotherhood and unity.

It was noted at the consultative meeting that by proceeding from the very complex economic situation in the province, basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists must, in the course of the electoral activity, make the responsibility for implementing economic stabilization more incisive. Therefore the need to demand greater sociopolitical, moral and every other kind of responsibility for the insufficient commitment to production and work organization was highlighted, all the more so since industrial production in the province had registered a noticeable drop in the last few years. Various weaknesses, deformations, nonself-managing and non-socialist types of behaviour, too, are present.

Speaking about this, Veli Deva, president of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee stressed that all 90,000 Kosovo communists must, in their own environment, work to establish concrete programs to implement economic stabilization. One must proceed from the fact that the first letter of the stabilization alphabet is the attitude toward work, Deva said, and went on to add that verbal debates and sterile dialogues were still being held and that the elections represented an opportunity for a broad mobilization, a change in behaviour and for naming the exponents of idleness and those who are putting a brake on production.

Veli Deva stressed that stabilization cannot be imagined without greater exports and saving, and yet saving and exports have become a mere slogan in view of the fact that the number of organizations of associated labor in the province which have defined programs for their implementation is small.

He added that there were no clear League of Communists programs and activities either in the villages or in agriculture where there were great possibilities for work commitment. Therefore, communists must be particularly involved in critically examining various megalomaniac projects in agriculture and in the economy in general and turn their attention to finding opportunities for the development of small capacities which ensure greater economy and faster employment.

The president of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee also pointed out that economic stabilization was one of the conditions of political stabilization in the province. But, Veli Deva went on, what is necessary for political stabilization is during the electoral activity, for a deeper analysis of the causes and phenomena which led to instability to be done. Along with that communists in every environment must be made capable of energetic activity and of overcoming the present complex situation. It is precisely the energetic activity and uncompromising settling of accounts with the enemy and with all the weaknesses present in the province which should confirm the orientation of League of Communists members and cadres for the LCY policy and which should be the condition for trust and elections to Kosovo League of Communists leaderships.

KOSOVO ASSEMBLY DELEGATE EXPELLED FROM LCY

LD311414 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] Pristina, 31 Oct (TANJUG) -- The basic organization of the League of Communists at the Kosovka textile works in Pristina has unanimously decided to expell from the LCY Vahide Dusku, delegate in the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Assembly. Two assembly sessions ago she tried to justify last summer's hostile demonstrations in Kosovo. Her statement caused indignation in the Kosovka collective. The basic organization of the League of Communists reached the conclusion that there was no room in the LCY ranks for Vahide Dusku, a person who had openly voiced her solidarity with the nationalists and irredentists.

At a session held the day before yesterday, delegates in the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Kosovo Assembly were informed that the procedure aimed at recalling Vahide Dusku had been set in motion.

KOSOVO PRESIDENCY HOLDS SESSION ON CADRE POLICY

LD290238 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 28 Oct 81

[Text] Pristina, 28 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo held a session today under the chairmanship of Ali Sukrija, and discussed information about the level of training of cadres from the province and those in federal organs involved in relations with other countries, diplomatic and consular offices and other representative offices abroad.

It noted that considerable efforts had been achieved in this and that certain results had been achieved which, however, were still not satisfactory.

Bearing in mind the dynamic development of Yugoslavia's international relations, as well as the need for broader involvement by the province in all spheres of relations with other countries, the Kosovo Presidency concluded that it is essential to continue efforts aimed at permanent cadre preparation in this sphere which assumes a need for a long-term cadre policy and measures for their early planning, preparation and orientation.

The Kosovo Presidency also discussed a report from the higher administrative court on the work of municipal administrative courts.